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FROM THE

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THE present edition of "The Crown" owes its existence to the conviction, that the ripening scholarship of our land calls for a new attempt to illustrate this great author. It would have been the choice of the editor, that the work should have been undertaken by some abler and more experienced hand; but as no such hand was put to it, he has, after much hesitation, ventured to attempt it himself. The points upon which most attention has been bestowed, and in which the merits of the edition, if it has any, will be found principally to consist, are the following:—

1. An attempt has been made to furnish in the notes all necessary historical and archæological information. The need of such information is very much felt in reading this Oration, since it deals largely in the history, laws, and politics of Athens, and, indeed, of all Greece. Laws are quoted, measures cited, and historical events alluded to, which, though familiar to the audience to which they were addressed, require illustration in order to be understood at the present time. In such a discussion, too, there are necessarily many technical terms which need explanation. All needed aid of this kind, it is hoped, will be found in the notes. In furnishish information of this nature, I have derived great assistance,

as will be seen by the references, from Hermann's *Manual of the Political Antiquities of Greece*; a book full of the profoundest learning, presented in the clearest and most compressed form. I have also made free use of Thirlwall's *History of Greece*, an attentive perusal of which, but more particularly of Chapters XLI.—XLVII, I would recommend to all who read this Oration.

2. A good deal of attention has been bestowed upon the explanation of words, sentences, and grammatical constructions. Demosthenes is an unusually difficult author to translate; and hence an editor, who would adapt his labors to the attainments of students in our academic courses, has much to do in the way of removing difficulties of this kind. It has been with this end in view, that so many words, sentences, and, in a few instances, even long passages, have been translated. It has not been intended, however, to translate any word or sentence, the meaning of which it might be supposed to be within the power of our ordinary students fully to comprehend by a reasonable amount of study; except, perhaps, in a few cases, where the importance of a word or phrase to the understanding of what precedes or follows, seemed to render it desirable to prevent all possibility of mistaking its meaning, by translating it. Generally, too, only those passages have been translated, which, in order to their full understanding, require, besides a translation, the introduction of certain explanatory words or phrases. In other words, I have translated but very little barely for the purpose of translation, but generally with a view to the introduction or addition of certain explanatory remarks. In doing this, however, I cannot deny that my object has been to make the task of reading the text easier. From my own experience, both as a student and a teacher of this author, I am convinced that there is need of something being done in this way to encourage the efforts of the beginner. Ripe scholars, who have an extensive and accurate knowledge of the Greek language, and who, besides, have at hand the books which are necessary for a thorough

original study of Demosthenes, need nothing but the bare text ; but for mere learners, such as this book is designed for, I am satisfied that some assistance in the way of translating difficult words and passages is needed. This seems necessary, in order to prevent them from resorting to improper helps. Whatever objections, therefore, there may be, in ordinary cases, to so free a use of translation as has been made in the present instance, I hope it will be considered that there are weighty reasons in its favor, in this particular case, growing out of the nature of the author commented upon. After all the assistance that has been given in this way, it is believed that enough of difficulty remains to task the powers and stimulate the industry of the student in no ordinary degree. It should be added here, that the translations given in the notes have been made with the simple purpose of expressing, as clearly as possible, the meaning of the original.

3. Another point upon which no inconsiderable attention has been bestowed is the development of the course of thought pursued by the orator. For this purpose, a very full and minute analysis has been prefixed to the Notes, and special pains have been taken to point out in the notes the meaning of those words and phrases which may be regarded as the *hinges* of the thought, to notice the transitions, to show the connection of consecutive ideas, and the relevancy of what, without explanation, might appear foreign to the subject. It has been my object to aid the diligent student in obtaining a clear and vivid conception of the stirring thoughts and sentiments contained in this masterpiece of the prince of orators ; and should it be thought that I have succeeded in this to any good degree, I shall not feel that I have labored in vain.

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In making up the *notes*, I have made free use of the comments of others, whenever they seemed to my purpose. I have designed that they should embody, in a compressed form, all that is truly valuable which has been contributed, in the way of illustration, by the great editors of Demosthenes, such

as Reiske, Wolf, Taylor, Schäfer, etc., and thus be a representative of the present state of the interpretation of this author. But, on very many passages of no inconsiderable difficulty, I could find nothing satisfactory in any of the commentaries of others at my command, for the explanation of which, therefore, I have been obliged to draw upon my own reading and resources; so that I flatter myself it will be found that I have contributed something of my own towards the illustration of the text. Between what is original, therefore, and what is compiled, it is hoped that but few passages, which really need illustration, will be found unexplained; and that, whatever else may be said of the notes, it cannot be said of them, as Cecil said of commentaries on the Scriptures, that "they are very good, except on difficult passages." In thus meeting, rather than avoiding, the difficult questions, I am aware that I have laid myself open much more to criticism; but this consequence, however undesirable, I shall not regret, if I have really succeeded in throwing any light upon them.

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THE present edition has received as thorough a revision as the means at my command would allow. The text (which is that of W. Dindorf) has been carefully compared with that of the best editions, and with the various readings given in Dobson's edition of the Attic orators. The notes have been almost entirely rewritten, and adapted to side-sections in the text, instead of pages and lines. The side-sections are the same as those employed by Dissen, to whose excellent edition of the Oration I am much indebted in many other respects. A short Appendix on the Documents, and a pretty copious Index, have been added, which, it is hoped, will not be without their use. I have referred uniformly to the Greek School Grammar of Kühner, as most satisfactorily solving, according to my view, the various questions which arise in reading Greek.

The readers of this edition cannot fail to be grateful to the enterprising printers, who have the honor of having first introduced into this country the elegant Porsonian type in which the text appears. They will have occasion to be equally grateful to Professor C. C. Felton, of Harvard University, under whose critical and tasteful eye all the sheets have passed, for the general accuracy and much of the value of the edition.

WATERVILLE COLLEGE, *September, 1847.*

A THIRD edition of "The Crown" having been called for sooner than was anticipated, the editor has not found time, amid other pressing duties, to make so extensive improvements as he had intended to ; still he hopes it will be found that a new edition has not been issued without some improvement.

WATERVILLE COLLEGE, *January, 1850.*

γάρ ἐστιν ἴσον νῦν ἐμοὶ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας διαμαρτεῖν καὶ τούτῳ μὴ ἐλείν τὴν γραφὴν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν — (οὐ βούλομαι δὲ δυσχερὲς εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου), οὗτος δ' ἐκ περιουσίας μου κατηγορεῖ. Ἐτερον δ', ὃ φύσει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει, τῶν μὲν λοιδοριῶν καὶ τῶν κατηγοριῶν ἀκούειν ἡδέως, τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσι δ' αὐτοὺς ἄχθεσθαι· τούτων τοίνυν ὃ μὲν ἐστὶ πρὸς ἡδονήν, τούτῳ δέδοται, ὃ δὲ πᾶσιν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐνοχλεῖ, λοιπὸν ἐμοί. Κἂν μὲν εὐλαβούμενος τοῦτο μὴ λέγω τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐμαντῶ, οὐκ ἔχειν ἀπολύσασθαι τὰ κατηγορημένα δόξω οὐδ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι δεικνύναι· ἐὰν δ' ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ πεποιήκα καὶ πεπολίτευμαι βαδίζω, πολλάκις λέγειν ἀναγκασθήσομαι περὶ ἐμαντοῦ. Πειράσομαι μὲν οὖν 227 ὡς μετριώτατα τοῦτο ποιεῖν· ὃ τι δ' ἂν τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτὸ ἀναγκάξῃ, τούτου τὴν αἰτίαν οὗτός ἐστι δίκαιος ἔχειν ὁ τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα ἐνστησάμενος.

Ὡμαι δ' ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πάντας ἂν ὁμολογήσαι κοινὸν εἶναι τουτουὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐμοὶ καὶ Κτησιφῶντι, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάττονος ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἐμοί· πάντων μὲν γὰρ ἀποστερεῖσθαι λυπηρόν ἐστι καὶ χαλεπόν, ἄλλως τε κἂν ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ τῷ τοῦτο συμβαίῃ, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας, ὅσῳ περ 228 καὶ τὸ τυχεῖν τούτων μέγιστόν ἐστιν. Περὶ τούτων δ' οὗτος τουτουὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος, ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι πάντων ὁμοίως ὑμῶν, ἀκοῦσαί μου περὶ τῶν κατηγορημένων ἀπολογουμένου δικαίως, ὥσπερ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν, οὓς ὁ τιθεὶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς Σόλων, εὖνους ὦν ὑμῖν καὶ δημοτικός,

οὐ μόνον τῷ γράψαι κυρίους ᾔετο δεῖν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τοὺς δικάζοντας ὑμᾶς ὁμωμοκέναι· οὐκ ἀπιστῶν τῷ ὑμῖν, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ὁρῶν ὅτι τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς διαβολάς, αἷς ἐκ τοῦ πρότερος λέγειν ὁ διώκων ἰσχύει, οὐκ ἔτι τῷ φεύγοντι παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τῶν δικαζόντων ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν φυλάττων καὶ τὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ὑστέρου δίκαια εὐνοικῶς προσδέξεται, καὶ παρασχὼν ἑαυτὸν ἴσον καὶ κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροις ἀκροατήν, οὕτω τὴν διάγνωσιν ποιήσεται περὶ πάντων.

Μέλλων δὲ τοῦ τε ἰδίου βίου παντός, ὡς ἔοικε, λόγον ⁸ δίδόναι τήμερον καὶ τῶν κοινῇ πεπολιτευμένων, βούλομαι πάλιν τοὺς θεοὺς παρακαλέσαι, καὶ ἐναντίον ὑμῶν εὐχομαι πρῶτον μὲν, ὅσῃν εὐνοίαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ ²²⁸ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα· ἔπειθ', ὃ τι μέλλει συνοίσειν καὶ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν κοινῇ καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἐκάστω, τοῦτο παραστήσαι τοὺς θεοὺς πᾶσιν ὑμῖν περὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς γραφῆς γινῶναι.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ ὧν ἐδίδωκε μόνον κατηγορήσεν Αἰσχί- ⁹ νης, καὶ γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ προβουλεύματος εὐθύς ἂν ἀπελογούμεην· ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐκ ἐλάττω λόγον τᾶλλα διεξιὼν ἀνήλωκε καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα κατεψεύσατό μου, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι νομίζω καὶ δίκαιον ἅμα βραχέα, ὧς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ τούτων εἰπεῖν πρῶτον, ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑμῶν τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις ἡγμένος ἀλλοτριώτερον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς γραφῆς δικαίων ἀκούῃ μου.

- 10 *Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἰδίων ὅσα λοιδορούμενος βεβλασφή-
μηκε περὶ ἐμοῦ, θεάσασθε ὡς ἀπλᾶ καὶ δίκαια λέγω.
Εἰ μὲν ἴστε με τοιούτου οἶον οὗτος ἦτιᾶτο (οὐ γὰρ
ἄλλοθί που βεβίωκα ἢ παρ' ὑμῖν), μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀνά-
σχησθε, μηδ' εἰ πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ὑπέρευ πεπολίτευμαι,
ἀλλ' ἀναστάντες καταψηφίσασθε ἤδη· εἰ δὲ πολλῶν
βελτίῳ τούτου καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων, καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν με-
τρίων (ἵνα μηδὲν ἐπαχθὲς λέγω) χείρονα καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ
τοὺς ἐμοὺς ὑπειλήφατε καὶ γυγνώσκετε, τούτῳ μὲν μηδ'
ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων πιστεύετε· δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ὁμοίως
ἅπαντ' ἐπλάττετο· ἐμοὶ δ', ἦν παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον
εὖνοϊαν ἐνδέδειχθε ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἀγώνων τῶν πρότερον,*
- 11 *καὶ νυνὶ παράσχεσθε. Κακοήθης δ' ὢν, Αἰσχίνῃ, τοῦτο
παντελῶς εὔηθες ᾤήθης, τοὺς περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων
καὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους ἀφέντα με πρὸς τὰς λοιδο-
ρίας τῆς παρὰ σοῦ τρέψεσθαι. Οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοῦτο·
οὐχ οὕτω τετύφωμαι· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν πεπολιτευ-²²⁹
μένων ἃ κατεψεύδου καὶ διέβαλλες ἐξετάσω, τῆς δὲ
πομπείας ταύτης τῆς ἀνέδην γεγενημένης ὕστερον, ἃν
βουλομένοις ἀκούειν ἢ τουτοισι, μνησθήσομαι.*
- 12 *Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατηγορημένα πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ, καὶ περὶ
ᾧ ἐνίων μεγάλας καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας οἱ νόμοι διδοασι
τιμωρίας· τοῦ δὲ παρόντος ἀγώνος ἡ προαίρεσις αὕτη
ἐχθροῦ μὲν ἐπῆρειαν ἔχει καὶ ὕβριν καὶ λοιδορίαν καὶ
προπηλακισμόν ὁμοῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, τῶν μέντοι
κατηγοριῶν καὶ τῶν αἰτιῶν τῶν εἰρημένων, εἴπερ ἦσαν
ἀληθεῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τῇ πόλει δίκην ἀξίαν λαβεῖν οὐδ'*

οὐ μόνον τῷ γράψαι κυρίους. ᾤετο δεῖν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τοὺς δικάζοντας ὑμᾶς ὁμωμοκέναι· οὐκ ἀπιστῶν τῷ μῖν, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ὁρῶν ὅτι τὸς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς διαβολάς, αἷς ἐκ τοῦ πρότερος λέγειν ὁ διώκων ἰσχύει, οὐκ ἐν τῷ φεύγοντι παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τῶν δικαζόντων ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν φυλάττων καὶ τὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ὑστέρου δίκαια εὐνοικῶς προσδέξεται, καὶ παρασχὼν ἑαυτὸν ἴσον καὶ κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροις ἀκροατὴν, οὕτω τὴν διάγνωσιν ποιήσεται περὶ πάντων.

Μέλλων δὲ τοῦ τε ἰδίου βίου παντός, ὡς ἔαικε, λόγον ⁸ δίδόναι τήμερον καὶ τῶν κοινῇ πεπολιτευμένων, βούλομαι πάλιν τοὺς θεοὺς παρακαλέσαι, καὶ ἐναντίαν ὑμῶν εὔχομαι πρῶτον μὲν, ὅσῃν εὐνοίαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ ²²⁸ τε πᾶλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα· ἔπειθ', ὃ τι μέλλει συνοίσειν καὶ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν κοινῇ καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἐκάστω, τοῦτο παραστήσαι τοὺς θεοὺς πᾶσιν ὑμῖν περὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς γραφῆς γινῶναι.

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16 Καίτοι πρὸς ἅπασιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐκ ἂν εἰπεῖν τις ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος ἔχει δικαίους, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ μάλ' εἰκότως ἂν λέγειν, ὅτι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔχθρας ἡμᾶς ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δίκαιον ἦν τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ποιεῖσθαι, οὐ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγωνίζεσθαι παραλείπειν, ἐτέρῳ δ' ὅτῳ κακόν τι δώσωμεν ζητεῖν· ὑπερβολὴ γὰρ ἀδικίας τοῦτό γε.

17 Πάντα μὲν τοίνυν τὰ κατηγορημένα ὁμοίως ἐκ τούτων ἂν τις ἴδοι οὔτε δικαίως οὔτ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας σὺδαμῆς εἰρημένα· βούλομαι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἑκάστον αὐτῶν ἐξετάσαι, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς πρεσβείας κατεψεύσατό μου, τὰ πεπραγμένα ἑαυτῷ μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἀνατιθεῖς ἐμοί. Ἔστι δ' ἀναγκαῖον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ προσῆκον ἴσως, ὡς κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους εἶχε τὰ πράγματα ἀναμῆσαι ὑμᾶς, ἵνα πρὸς τὸν ὑπάρχοντα καιρὸν ἕκαστα θεωρήτε.

18 Τοῦ γὰρ Φωκικοῦ συστάντος πολέμου, οὐδ' ἐμέ, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔγωγε ἐπολιτευόμενῳ πω τότε, πρῶτον μὲν ὑμεῖς οὕτω διέκεισθε, ὥστε Φωκίας μὲν βούλεσθαι σωθῆναι, 231 καίπερ οὐ δίκαια ποιοῦντας ὀρώντες, Θηβαίους δ' ὀτιοῦν ἂν ἐφθασθῆναι παθούσιν, οὐκ ἀλόγως οὐδ' ἀδίκως αὐτοῖς ὀργιζόμενοι· οἷς γὰρ εὐτυχήκεσαν ἐν Δεύκτροις, οὐ μετρίως ἐκέχρηντο· ἔπειθ' ἡ Πελοπόννησος ἅπασα διευστήκει, καὶ οὐθ' οἱ μισοῦντες Λακεδαιμονίους οὕτως ἴσχυον ὥστε ἀνελεῖν αὐτούς, οὐθ' οἱ πρότερον δι' ἐκείνων ἄρχοντες κύριοι τῶν πόλεων ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ τις ἦν ἄκρετος καὶ παρὰ τούτοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν

Νῦν δ' ἐκστὰς τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας ὁδοῦ καὶ φυγῶν 15
τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐλέγχους, τοσούτοις ὥστε-
ρον χρόνοις αἰτίας καὶ σκώμματα καὶ λοιδορίας συμφο-
ρήσας ὑποκρίνεται. Εἶτα κατηγορεῖ μὲν ἐμοῦ, κρίνει
δὲ τουτονί, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀγῶνος ὅλου τὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ
ἔχθραν προτίσται, οὐδαμοῦ δ' ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀπηντητικῶς
ἐμοὶ τὴν ἐτέρου ζητῶν ἐπιτιμίαν ἀφελέσθαι φαίνεται.

- στόδημος ἦν ὁ ὑποκριτής, ὁ δ' ἐκδεξάμενος καὶ γράψας
 καὶ ἑαυτὸν μετὰ τούτου μισθώσας ἐπὶ ταῦτα Φιλοκρά-
 τῆς ὁ Ἀγνούσιος, ὁ σός, Αἰσχίνη, κοινωνός, οὐχ ὁ ἐμός,
 οὐδ' ἂν σὺ διαρρήγῃς ψευδόμενος, οἱ δὲ συνειπόντες,
 ὅτου δῆποτε ἔνεκα (ἐὼ γὰρ τοῦτό γ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι),
 Εὐβουλος καὶ Κηφισοφῶν· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ.
- 22 Ἀλλ' ὅμως, τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς
 ἀληθείας οὕτω δεκνυμένων, εἰς τοῦθ' ἦκεν ἀναιδείας,
 ὥστ' ἐτόλμα λέγειν, ὡς ἄρα ἐγὼ πρὸς τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης
 αἷτιος γεγενῆσθαι καὶ κεκωλυκὼς εἶην τὴν πόλιν μετὰ
 κοινουῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων αὐτὴν ποιήσασθαι.
 Εἴτ' ὦ — (τί ἂν εἰπὼν σέ τις ὀρθῶς προσείποι;) ἔστιν
 ὅπου σὺ παρών, τηλικαύτην πράξιν καὶ συμμαχίαν
 ἡλίκεν νυνὶ διεξήεις ὁρῶν ἀφαιρούμενόν με τῆς πόλεως
 ἡγανάκτησας, ἣ παρελθὼν ταῦτα ἂ νυνὶ κατηγορεῖς
- 23 ἐδίδαξας καὶ διεξῆλθες; Καὶ μὴν εἰ τὸ κωλύσαι τὴν
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων κοινωνίαν ἐπεπράκειν ἐγὼ Φιλίππῳ, σοὶ
 τὸ μὴ συγῆσαι λοιπὸν ἦν, ἀλλὰ βοᾷν καὶ διαμαρτύρε-
 σθαι καὶ δηλοῦν τοντοισί. Οὐ τοίνυν ἐποίησας οὐδαμοῦ
 τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἤκουσέ σου ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν οὐδεὶς· εἰκό-
 τως· οὔτε γὰρ ἦν πρεσβεία πρὸς οὐδένας ἀπεσταλμένη 23a
 τότε τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ πάλοι πάντες ἦσαν ἐξελη-
 λεγμένοι, οὔθ' οὗτος ὑγιὲς περὶ τούτων εἴρηκεν οὐδέν.
- 24 Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων καὶ διαβάλλει τὴν πόλιν τὰ μέγιστα
 ἐν οἷς ψεύδεται. Εἰ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἅμα τοὺς μὲν Ἕλληνας
 εἰς πόλεμον παρακαλεῖτε, αὐτοὶ δὲ πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ
 εἰρήνης πρέσβεις ἐπέμπετε, Εὐρυβάτου πρῶγμα, οὐ

ἔρις καὶ ταραχή. Ταῦτα δ' ὁρῶν ὁ Φίλιππος (οὐ γὰρ 19
 ἦν ἀφανῆ), τοῖς παρ' ἐκάστοις προδύταις χρήματα ἀνα-
 λίσκων, πάντας συνέκρουε καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐτάραττεν·
 εἴτ' ἐν οἷς ἡμάρτανον οἱ ἄλλοι καὶ κακῶς ἐφρόνουν,
 αὐτὸς παρεσκευάζετο καὶ κατὰ πάντων ἐφύετο. Ὡς δὲ
 ταλαιπωρούμενοι τῷ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου οἱ τότε μὲν
 βαρεῖς, νῦν δ' ἀτυχεῖς Θηβαῖοι φανεροὶ πᾶσιν ἦσαν
 ἀπαγκασθησόμενοι καταφεύγειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, ὁ Φίλιππος,
 ἵνα μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο μηδὲ συνέλθοιεν αἱ πόλεις, ὑμῖν
 μὲν εἰρήνην, ἐκείνοις δὲ βοήθειαν ἐπηγγείλατο. Τί οὖν 20
 συνηγωνίσασατο αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν ὀλέγου δεῖν ὑμᾶς
 ἐκόντας ἐξαπατωμένους; Ἡ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων —
 εἴτε χρὴ κακίαν εἴτ' ἀγνοίαν εἴτε καὶ ἀμφοτέρω ταύτ'
 εἰπεῖν, — οἷ, πόλεμον συνεχῇ καὶ μακρὸν πολεμούντων
 ὑμῶν, καὶ τοῦτον ὑπὲρ τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόντων, ὡς ἔργῳ
 φανερὸν γέγονεν, οὔτε χρήμασιν οὔτε σώμασιν οὔτ'
 ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀπάντων συνελάμβανον ὑμῖν· οἷς καὶ
 δικαίως καὶ προσηκόντως ὀργιζόμενοι ἐτοίμως ὑπηκού-
 σατε τῷ Φιλίππῳ. Ἡ μὲν οὖν τότε συγχωρηθεῖσα
 εἰρήνη διὰ ταύτ', οὐ δι' ἐμέ, ὡς οὗτος διέβαλλεν, ἐπρά-
 220 χθη· τὰ δὲ τούτων ἀδικήματα καὶ δωροδοκήματα ἐν
 αὐτῇ τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων, ἃν τις ἐξετάξῃ
 δικαίως, αἴτια εὐρήσει.

Καὶ ταυτὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκριβολογοῦμαι 21
 καὶ διεξέρχομαι. Εἰ γὰρ εἶναί τι δοκοίῃ τὰ μάλιστα
 ἐν τούτοις ἀδικήμα, οὐδέν ἐστι δήπου πρὸς ἐμέ, ἀλλ' ὁ
 μὲν πρῶτος εἰπὼν καὶ μνησθεὶς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης Ἀρι-

ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ λογιζόμενος, τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο γράφω, πλείν ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς ἂν ἦ Φίλιππος, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους τὴν ταχίστην ἀπολαμβάνειν· ἢ ἐχόντων Θρακῶν, τῶν ὑμετέρων συμμάχων, τὰ χωρία ταῦθ' ἃ νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, τὸ Σέρριον καὶ τὸ Μύρτιον καὶ τὴν Ἐργίσκην, οὕτω γίγνοιθ' οἱ ὅρκοι, καὶ μὴ προλαβὼν ἐκεῖνος τοὺς ἐπικαίρους τῶν τόπων κύριος τῆς Θράκης κατασταίῃ, μηδὲ πολλῶν μὲν χρημάτων, πολλῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν εὐπορήσας, ἐκ τούτων ῥαδίως τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπιχειροίῃ πράγμασιν.

28 Εἴτα τοῦτο μὲν οὐχὶ λέγει τὸ ψήφισμα, οὐδ' ἀναγινώσκει· εἰ δὲ βουλευὼν ἐγὼ προσάγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις ᾧ μιν δεῖν, τοῦτό μου διαβάλλει. Ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρήν με ποιεῖν; Μὴ προσάγειν γράψαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦθ' ἦκοντας, ἢ ὑμῖν διαλεχθῶσιν; Ἡ θεὰν μὴ κατανεῖμαι τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτοῖς κελεῦσαι; Ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὁβολοῖν ἐθεώρουν ἂν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτ' ἐγράφη. Τὰ μικρὰ συμφέροντα τῆς πόλεως ἔδει με φυλάττειν, τὰ δ' ὅλα, ὥσπερ οὗτοι, πεπρακέναι; Οὐ δῆπου.

Λέγε τοίνυν μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τουτὶ λαβὼν, ὃ σαφῶς οὗτος εἰδὼς παρέβη. Λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ

29 Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Μησιφίλου, Ἑκατομβαιῶνος ἔτη καὶ νέε, φυλῆς 235
πρυτανεύουσας Πανδιονίδος, Δημοσθένους Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς εἰ-
πεν· ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἀποστείλας πρέσβεις περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὁμο-
λογουμένας πεποιήται συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
τῷ Ἀθηναίων, ὅπως ἂν ἡ εἰρήνη ἐπιτελεσθῇ, ἡ ἐπιχειροποιηθεῖσα
ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πρέσβεις εἰλίσθαι ἐκ πάντων Ἀθηναίων ἥδη

πόλεως ἔργον οὐδὲ χρηστῶν ἀνθρώπων διεπράττεσθε.
 Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔστιν· τί γὰρ καὶ βουλόμενοι μετεπέμπεσθ' ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ;
 Ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην; Ἄλλ' ὑπῆρχεν ἅπανιν. Ἄλλ' ἐπὶ
 τὸν πόλεμον; Ἄλλ' αὐτοὶ περὶ εἰρήνης ἐβουλευέσθε.
 Οὐκ οὐτε τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰρήνης ἡγεμῶν οὐδ' αἷτιος
 ὢν ἐγὼ φαίνομαι, οὐτε τῶν ἄλλων, ὧν κατεψεύσατό
 μου, οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ὃν δείκνυται.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσατο τὴν εἰρήνην ἡ πόλις, ἐν- 25
 ταῦθα πάλιν σκέψασθε τί ἡμῶν ἐκάτερος προεἶλετο
 πράττειν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τούτων εἴσεσθε, τίς ἦν ὁ Φιλίππῳ
 πάντα συναγωνιζόμενος καὶ τίς ὁ πράττων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
 καὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον ζητῶν. Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν
 ἔγραψα βουλευῶν ἀποπλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην τοὺς πρέσβεις
 ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς ἂν ὄντα Φίλιππον πυνθάνωνται,
 καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους ἀπολαμβάνειν· οὗτοι δὲ οὐδὲ γράψαν-
 τος ἐμοῦ ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἠθέλησαν. Τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἡδύνατο,
 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; Ἐγὼ διδάξω. Φιλίππῳ μὲν ἦν 26
 συμφέρον ὡς πλείστον τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον γενέσθαι τῶν
 ὅρκων, ὑμῖν δ' ὡς ἐλάχιστον. Διὰ τί; Ὅτι ὑμεῖς
 234 μὲν οὐκ ἀφ' ἧς ὠμόσατε ἡμέρας μόνον, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς
 ἠλπίσατε τὴν εἰρήνην ἔσεσθαι, πάσας ἐξελύσασθε τὰς
 παρασκευὰς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου, ὁ δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ
 χρόνου μάλιστα ἐπραγματεύετο, νομίζων, ὅπερ ἦν ἀλη-
 θές, ὅσα τῆς πόλεως προλάβοι πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς ὅρκους
 ἀποδοῦναι, πάντα ταῦτα βεβαίως ἔξειν· οὐδένα γὰρ
 τὴν εἰρήνην λύσειν τούτων ἕνεκα. Ἄ ἐγὼ προορώμενος, 27

σκευάζεται πορεύεσθαι, ἐξέλθοιτε ὑμεῖς καὶ περιπλεύσαντες ταῖς τριήρεσιν εἰς Πύλας ὥσπερ πρότερον κλείσατε τὸν πορθμόν, ἀλλ' ἄμ' ἀκούετε ταῦτα ἀπαγγελόντων ἡμῶν κακεῖνος ἐντὸς εἴη Πυλῶν καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοιθ ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι.

- 33 Οὕτω δ' ἦν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐν φόβῳ καὶ πολλῇ ἀγωνίᾳ, μή, καὶ ταῦτα προειληφότος αὐτοῦ, πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι ἀκούσαντες ψηφίσαισθε βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐκφύγοι τὰ πρόγματ' αὐτόν, ὥστε μισθοῦνται τὸν κατὰπτυστον τουτονί, οὐκέτι κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρέσβων, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ καθ' αὐτόν, τοιαῦτα πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν
- 34 καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαι, δι' ὧν ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο. — Ἀξιῶ δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ δέομαι, τοῦτο μεμνήσθαι ὑμᾶς παρ' ὅλον τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὅτι μὴ κατηγορήσαντος Διοσχίνου μηδὲν ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς οὐδ' ἂν ἐγὼ λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιούμην ἕτερον, ἀπάσαις δ' αἰτίαις καὶ βλασφημίαις καὶ ἄμα τούτου κεχρημένου, ἀνάγκη καμοῖ πρὸς ἕκαστα τῶν
- 35 κατηγορημένων μικρὰ ἀποκρίνασθαι. — Τίνες οὖν ἦσαν οἱ παρὰ τούτου λόγοι τότε ρηθέντες, καὶ δι' οὓς ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο; Ὡς οὐ δεῖ θορυβεῖσθαι τῷ παρεληλυθέναι Φίλιππον εἶσω Πυλῶν· ἔσται γὰρ ἅπανθ' ὅσα βούλεσθ' ὑμεῖς, εἰ ἔχηθ' ἡσυχίαν, καὶ ἀκούσεσθε δυοῶν ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, οἷς μὲν ἐχθρὸς ἦκει, φίλον αὐτὸν γεγεννημένον, οἷς δὲ φίλος, τοῦναντίον ἐχθρόν. Οὐ γὰρ τὰ ρήματα τὰς οἰκειότητος ἔφη βεβαιοῦν, μάλα σεμνῶς ἐνομάζων, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτα συμφέρειν· συμφέρειν δὲ Φιλίππῳ καὶ Φωκεῦσι καὶ ὑμῶν ὁμοίως ἅπασι, τῆς

ἀναληγσίας καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς τῷ
Θηβαίων. Ταῦτα δ' ἀσμένως τινὲς ἤκουον αὐτοῦ διὰ
τὴν τόθ' ὑποῦσαν ἀπέχθειαν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους.

Τί οὖν συνέβη μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς, οὐκ εἰς μακράν ;
Τοὺς μὲν ταλαιπώρους Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι καὶ κα-
τασκαφῆναι τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν, ὑμᾶς δ' ἡσυχίαν ἀγα-
γόντας καὶ τούτῳ πεισθέντας, μακρὸν ὕστερον σκευα-
γωγεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, τοῦτον δὲ χρυσίον λαβεῖν · καὶ
ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους
καὶ Θετταλοὺς τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι, τὴν δὲ χάριν τῇ
ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων Φιλίππῳ. "Οτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ'
ἔχει, λέγε μοι τό τε τοῦ Καλλισθέους ψήφισμα καὶ
τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων
σαυθ' ἅπανθ' ὑμῖν ἔσται φανερά. Λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

238 Ἐπὶ Μνησιφίλου ἄρχοντος, συγκλήτου ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν,
καὶ πρωτάνων καὶ βουλῆς γνώμῃ, Μαιμακτηριῶντος δευατῇ ἐπιόντος,
Καλλισθένης Ἐτεονίκου Φαληρεὺς εἶπε · μηδένα Ἀθηναίων μηδεμῶ
παρευρέσει ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κοιταῖον γίγνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν ἄστει καὶ Πειραιεῖ,
ὅσοι μὴ ἐν ταῖς φρουρίοις εἶναι ἀποτεταγμένοι · τούτων δ' ἐκάστους,
ἢν παρέλαβον τάξιν, διατηρεῖν μήτε ἀφημερεύοντας μήτε ἀποκοιτοῦν-
τας. "Ος ἂν δ' ἀπειθήσῃ τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι, ἔνοχος ἔστω τοῖς τῆς
προδοσίας ἐπιτιμίαις, εἰ μὴ τι ἀδύνατον ἐπιδεικνύῃ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν ·
περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου ἐπικρινέτω ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων στρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ
τῆς διοικήσεως καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς. Κατακομίζειν δὲ καὶ τὰ
ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν πάντα τὴν ταχίστην, τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἰκοσιν
εἰς ἄστυ καὶ Πειραιᾶ, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἰκοσιν εἰς Ἐλευσίνα
καὶ Φυλὴν καὶ Ἀφιδναν καὶ Ῥαμνοῦντα καὶ Σούνιον. Εἶπε Καλλισθέ-
νης Φαληρεὺς.

Ἄρ' ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιεῖσθε,
ἢ ταῦτ' ἐπηγγέλλεθ' ὑμῖν οὗτος ὁ μισθωτός ;

30 Δέγε δὴ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν δεῦρ' ἔπεμψε Φίλιππος
μετὰ ταῦτα.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
χαίρειν. ἴστε ἡμᾶς παρεληλυθότας εἶσω Πυλῶν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν
Φωκίδα ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς πεποιημένους, καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐκουσίως προσετίθετο
τῶν πολισμάτων, φρουρὰς εἰσαγοχότας [εἰς αὐτά], τὰ δὲ μὴ ὑπα- 230
κούοντα κατὰ κράτος λαβόντες καὶ ἐξανδραποδισάμενοι κατεσκάψαμεν.
Ἀκούων δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς παρασκευάζεσθαι βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς, γέγραφα ὑμῖν,
ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ πλείον ἐνοχλήσθε περὶ τούτων. Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ὅλοις οὐδὲν
μέτριόν μοι δοκεῖτε ποιεῖν, τὴν εἰρήην συνθέμενοι καὶ ἀμοίως ἀπιστα-
ρεῖάγοντες, καὶ ταῦτα οὐδὲ συμπεριειλημμένων τῶν Φωκίων ἐν ταῖς
κοιναῖς ἡμῶν συνθήκαις. Ὡστε εἰ μὴ ἐμμένητε τοῖς ὁμολογημένοις,
οὐδὲν προτεράσετε ἔξω τοῦ ἐφθακίνα ἀδικούντες.

40 Ἀκούετε ὡς σαφῶς δηλοῖ καὶ διορίζεται ἐν τῇ πρὸς
ὑμᾶς ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχους, ὅτι ἐγὼ
ταῦτα πεποίηκα ἀκόντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ λυ-
πουμένων, ὥστ' εἴπερ εὖ φρονεῖτε, ὦ Θηβαῖοι
καὶ Θετταλοί, τούτους μὲν ἐχθροὺς ὑπολή-
ψεσθε, ἐμοὶ δὲ πιστεύσετε, οὐ τούτοις τοῖς ῥή-
μασι γράψας, ταῦτα δὲ βουλόμενος δεικνύναι. Τοιγα-
ρὺν ἐκ τούτων ἔρχετο ἐκείνους λαβὼν εἰς τὸ μηδ' ὅτι οὐν
προορᾶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα μηδ' αἰσθάνεσθαι, ἀλλ' εἶσαι
πάντα τὰ πράγματα ἐκείνων ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιήσασθαι.
ἐξ ὧν ταῖς παρούσαις συμφοραῖς οἱ ταλαίπωροι Θη-
51 βαῖοι κέχρηται. Ὁ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πίστεως αὐτῷ
συνεργὸς καὶ συναγωνιστὴς καὶ ὁ δεῦρ' ἀπαγγεῖλας τὰ
ψευδῆ καὶ φευκάσας ὑμᾶς οὗτός ἐστιν, ὁ τὰ Θηβαίων
ὀδυρόμενος νῦν πάθη καὶ διεξιὼν ὡς οἰκτρά, καὶ τούτων
καὶ τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσι κακῶν καὶ ὅσ' ἄλλα πεπόνθασιν

ἀπαλλαγίας καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς τῶν
Θηβαίων. Ταῦτα δ' ἀσμένως τινὲς ἤκουον αὐτοῦ διὰ 36
τὴν τόθ' ὑποῦσαν ἀπέχθειαν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους.

Τί οὖν συνέβη μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς, οὐκ εἰς μακράν ;
Τοὺς μὲν ταλαιπώρους Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι καὶ κα-
τασκαφῆναι τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν, ὑμᾶς δ' ἡσυχίαν ἀγα-
γόντας καὶ τούτῳ πεισθέντας, μικρὸν ὕστερον σκευα-
γωγεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, τοῦτον δὲ χρυσίον λαβεῖν · καὶ
ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους
καὶ Θετταλοὺς τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι, τὴν δὲ χάριν τὴν
ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων Φιλίππου. Ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' 37
ἔχει, λέγε μοι τό τε τοῦ Καλλισθένους ψήφισμα καὶ
τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων
ταῦθ' ἄπανθ' ὑμῖν ἔσται φανερά. Λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

238 Ἐπὶ Μησιφίλου ἄρχοντος, συγκλήτου ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν,
καὶ πρωτάνων καὶ βουλῆς γνώμη, Μαιμακτηριῶνος δεκάτη ἐπιείκουσ,
Καλλισθένης Ἐπιονίκου Φαληρεὺς εἶπε · μηδένα Ἀθηναίων μηδεμᾶ
παρευρέσει ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κοιταῖον γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν ἄστει καὶ Πειραιεῖ,
δοσεὶ μὴ ἐν ταῖς φρουρίοις εἶναι ἀποτεταγμένοι · τούτων δ' ἐλάχιστοι,
ἣν παρέλαβον τάξιν, διατηρεῖν μήτε ἀφημερεύοντας μήτε ἀποκοιτοῦν- 38
τας. Ὅς ἂν δ' ἀπειθήσῃ τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι, ἔνοχος ἔστω τοῖς τῆς
προδοσίας ἐπιτιμίαις, εἰ μὴ τι ἀδύνατον ἐπιδικασθῇ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἢ ·
περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου ἐπικρινέτω ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων στρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ
τῆς διοικήσεως καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς. Κατακομίζειν δὲ καὶ τὰ
ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν πάντα τὴν ταχίστην, τὰ μὲν ἐκτὸς σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν
εἰς ἄστν καὶ Πειραιᾶ, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν εἰς Ἐλευσίνα
καὶ Φυλὴν καὶ Ἀφιδναν καὶ Ῥαμνοῦντα καὶ Σούνιον. Εἶπε Καλλισθέ-
νης Φαληρεὺς.

Ἄρ' ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὴν εἰρήνην ὅποιεσθαι,
ἢ ταῦτ' ἐπηγγάλλεθ' ὑμῖν οὗτος ὁ μισθωτός ;

πάντες, ἐφ' οὓς ταῦτα παρεσκευάζεται ἐκείνος, ἐπολε-
 45 μούνται. Εἰ δὲ μὴ ἡσθάνοντο, ἕτερος λόγος οὗτος, οὐ
 πρὸς ἐμέ. Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ προὔλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην
 καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν αἰεὶ καὶ ὅποι πεμφθείην· αἱ δὲ πόλεις ἐνά-
 σουν, τῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ πράττειν δωρο-
 δοκούντων καὶ διαφθειρομένων ἐπὶ χρήμασι, τῶν δὲ
 ἰδιωτῶν καὶ πολλῶν τὰ μὲν οὐ προορωμένων, τὰ δὲ 21
 τῇ καθ' ἡμέραν ῥαστώνῃ καὶ σχολῇ δελεαζομένων, καὶ
 τοιουτοῦνι τι πάθος πεποιθότων ἀπάντων, πλὴν οὐκ ἐφ'
 ἑαυτοὺς ἐκάστων οἰομένων τὸ δεινὸν ἦξειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν
 ἐτέρων κινδύνων τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀσφαλῶς σχήσειν ὅταν
 βούλωνται.

46 Εἴτ', οἶμαι, συμβέβηκε τοῖς μὲν πλίθεσιν, ἀντὶ τῆς
 πολλῆς καὶ ἀκαίρου ῥαθυμίας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολω-
 λεκέναι, τοῖς δὲ προεστηκόσι καὶ τὰλλα πλὴν ἑαυ-
 τοὺς οἰομένοις πωλεῖν, πρῶτους ἑαυτοὺς πεπρακόσιν
 αἰσθέσθαι. Ἀντὶ γὰρ φίλων καὶ ξένων, ἃ τότε ὠνομά-
 ζοντο ἡνίκα ἐδωροδόκουν, νῦν κόλακες καὶ θεοὺς ἐχθραὶ
 47 καὶ τὰλλ' ἃ προσήκει πάντ' ἀκούουσιν. Εἰκότως· οὐ-
 δεὶς γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ τοῦ προδιδόντος συμ-
 φέρον ζητῶν χρήματ' ἀναλίσκει, οὐδ' ἐπειδὴν ὦν ἂν
 πρίηται κύριος γένηται, τῷ προδότῃ συμβούλῳ περὶ
 τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτι χρήται· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἦν εὐδαιμονέστε-
 ρον προδότου. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔστιν· πόθεν ;
 Πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴν τῶν πραγμάτων
 ἐγκρατὴς ὁ ζητῶν ἄρχειν καταστή, καὶ τῶν ταῦτα ὑπο-
 δομένων δεσπότης ἐστί, τὴν δὲ πονηρίαν εὐδώς, τότε δὴ,

οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπάντων αὐτὸς ὢν αἷτιος. Δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι
 σὺ μὲν ἀλγεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν, Λίσχινη, καὶ
 τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐλεεῖς, κτήματ' ἔχων ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ καὶ
 γεωργῶν τὰ ἐκείνων, ἐγὼ δὲ χαίρω, ὃς εὐθὺς ἐξητούμην
 240 ὑπὸ τοῦ ταῦτα πράξαντος.

Ἄλλα γὰρ ἐμπέπτωκα εἰς λόγους οὓς ἀντίκα μᾶλλον αἰ-
 ῖσως ἀρμόσει λέγειν. Ἐπ' ἀνεμὶ δὴ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς
 ἀποδείξεις, ὥς τὰ τούτων ἀδικήματα τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων
 πραγμάτων γέγονεν αἷτια.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐξηπάτησθε μὲν ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίπ-
 που διὰ τούτων τῶν ἐν ταῖς πρεσβείαις μισθωσάντων
 ἑαυτοὺς καὶ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ὑμῖν ἀπαγγειλάντων, ἐξηπά-
 τητο δὲ οἱ ταλαέπυροι Φωκεῖς καὶ ἀνῆρηντο αἱ πόλεις
 αὐτῶν, τί ἐγένετο; Οἱ μὲν κατάπτυστοι Θετταλοὶ καὶ 13
 ἀναίσθητοι Θηβαῖοι φίλον, εὐεργέτην, σωτῆρα τὸν
 Φίλιππον ἡγοῦντο· πάντ' ἐκεῖνος ἦν αὐτοῖς· οὐδὲ φω-
 νὴν ἤκουον, εἴ τις ἄλλο τι βούλοιτο λέγειν. Ἵμεῖς δὲ
 ὑφορώμενοι τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ δυσχεραίνοντες ἤγαγε
 τὴν εἰρήνην ὁμως· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὃ τι ἂν ἐποιεῖτε μόνοι.
 Καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ Ἕλληνες, ὁμοίως ὑμῖν πεφenaκισμένοι
 καὶ διημαρτηκότες ὢν ἤλπισαν, ἦγον τὴν εἰρήνην ἄσμε-
 νοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἐκ πολλοῦ πολεμούμενοι.
 Ὅτε γὰρ περιμὼν ὁ Φίλιππος Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Τριβαλ- 14
 λούς, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατεστρέφετο, καὶ
 δυνάμεις πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐποιεῖθ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν, καὶ
 τινες τῶν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐξουσίᾳ
 βαδίζοντες ἐκεῖσε διεφθείροντο, ὃν εἰς οὗτος ἦν, τότε

ξενίαν ὀνειδίζων ἐμοί. Ἐγὼ σοι ξενίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου; Πόθεν λαβόντι ἢ πῶς ἀξιωθέντι; Οὔτε Φιλίππου ξένον οὐτ' Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλον εἶπομι' ἂν ἐγὼ σε, οὐχ οὕτω μαίνομαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς θειστοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλο τι μισθοῦ πράττοντας φίλους καὶ ξένους δεῖ κα-
 52 λῆν τῶν μισθωσαμένων. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· πόθεν; Πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. Ἀλλὰ μισθωτὸν ἐγὼ σε Φιλίππου πρότερον καὶ νῦν Ἀλεξάνδρου καλῶ καὶ οὗτοι πάντες. Εἰ δ' ἀπιστεῖς, ἐρώτησον αὐτούς· μᾶλλον δ' ἐγὼ τοῦθ' ὑπὲρ σοῦ ποιήσω. Πότερον ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δοκεῖ μισθωτὸς Αἰσχίνης ἢ ξένος εἶναι Ἀλε-
 ξάνδρου; — Ἀκούεις ἃ λέγουσιν.

243

53 Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἤδη καὶ περὶ τῆς γραφῆς αὐτῆς ἀπολογήσασθαι καὶ διεξελθεῖν τὰ πεπραγμέν' ἐμαντῶ, ἵνα καίπερ εἰδὼς Αἰσχίνης ὅμως ἀκούσῃ, δι' ἃ φημι καὶ τούτων τῶν προβεβουλευμένων καὶ πολλῶ μειζόνων ἔτι τούτων δωρεῶν δίκαιος εἶναι τυγχάνειν. Καί μοι λέγε τὴν γραφὴν αὐτὴν λαβών.

ΓΡΑΦΗ.

54 Ἐπὶ Χαιρένδου ἄρχοντος, Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος ἕκτη ἰσταμένου, Αἰσχίνης Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδης ἀπήνεγκε πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα παρανόμων γραφὴν κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος τοῦ Λεωσθένους Ἀναφλυστιίου, ὅτι ἔγραψε παράνομον ψήφισμα, ὡς ἄρα δεῖ στεφανῶσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανίᾳ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις, τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς, ὅτι στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανίᾳ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα, καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας, καὶ ὅτι διατελεῖ πράττων καὶ λέγων τὰ βέλ-

τότε καὶ μισεῖ καὶ ἀπιστεῖ καὶ προπηλακίζει. Σκο- 48
 πείτε δέ· καὶ γὰρ εἰ παρελήλυθεν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων
 καιρὸς, ὁ τοῦ γε εἰδέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα καιρὸς ἀεὶ πάρεστι
 τοῖς ἐν φρονούσιν. Μέχρι τούτου Λασθένης φίλος
 ὠνομάζετο Φιλίππου, ἕως προῦδωκεν Ὀλυμπον· μέχρι
 τούτου Τιμόλαος, ἕως ἀπώλεσε Θήβας· μέχρι τούτου
 Εὐδόκος καὶ Σίμος οἱ Λαρισαῖοι, ἕως Θετταλίαν ὑπὸ
 Φιλίππῳ ἐποίησαν. Εἴτ' ἐλαυνομένων καὶ ὑβριζομέ-
 242 νων καὶ τί κακὸν οὐχὶ πασχόντων πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη
 μεστὴ γέγονε προδοτῶν. Τί δ' Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Σι- 49
 κυῶνι, καὶ τί Περίλαος ἐν Μεγάροις; Οὐκ ἀπερρίμ-
 μένοι; Ἐξ ὧν καὶ σαφέστατ' ἂν τις ἴδοι ὅτι ὁ μά-
 λιστα φυλάττων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα καὶ πλείστα αντι-
 λέγων ταῦτοις, οὗτος ὑμῖν, Αἰσχίνη, τοῖς προδιδούσι καὶ
 μισθαρουνοῦσι τὸ ἔχειν ἐφ' ὅτῳ δωροδοκήσετε περποιοῖ,
 καὶ διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τουτωνὶ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους
 τοῖς ὑμετέροις βουλήμασιν ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ σφοῖ καὶ ἔμμι-
 σθοι· ἐπεὶ διὰ γε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς πάλαι ἂν ἀπολώλειτε.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν τότε πραχθέντων ἔχων ἔτι πολλὰ 50
 λέγειν, καὶ ταῦτα ἡγοῦμαι πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν εἰρῆσθαι.
 Αἴτιος δ' οὗτος, ὥσπερ ἐωλοκρασίαν τινά μου τῆς πο-
 νηρίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων κατασκευάσας,
 ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν πρὸς τοὺς νεωτέρους τῶν πεπραγμένων
 ἀπολύσασθαι. Παρηνώχλησθε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἴσως, οἱ,
 καὶ πρὶν ἐμὲ εἰπεῖν ὅτιοῦν, εἰδότες τὴν τούτου τότε
 μισθαρνίαν. Καίτοι φιλίαν γε καὶ ξενίαν αὐτὴν ὄνο- 51
 μάζει, καὶ νῦν εἰπέ που λέγων, ὁ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου

δεῖς ὑπολάβῃ ἀπαρτᾶν τὸν λόγον τῆς γραφῆς, ἔαν εἰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις καὶ λόγους ἐμπέσω· ὁ γὰρ διώκειν τοῦ ψηφίσματος τὸ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν τὰ ἄριστα με, καὶ γεγραμμένος ταῦτα ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοὺς περὶ ἀπάντων τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους οἰκείους καὶ ἀναγκαίους τῇ γραφῇ πεποιηκώς. Εἴτα καὶ πολλῶν προαιρέσεων οὐσῶν τῆς πολιτείας τὴν περὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις εἰλόμην ἐγώ, ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἐκ τούτων δίκαιός ἐμι ποιεῖσθαι.

80 Ἄ μὲν οὖν πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ δημηγορεῖν ἐμὲ προῦλαβε καὶ κατέσχε Φίλιππος, εἰάσω· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι τούτων εἶναι πρὸς ἐμέ· ἃ δ' ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐπέστην ἐγὼ διεκωλύθη, ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω καὶ τούτων ὑφέξω λόγον, τοσοῦτον ὑπειπών. Πλεονέκτημα, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μέγα ὑπῆρξε Φιλίππῳ.

81 Παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οὐ τισὶν ἀλλ' ἅπασιν ὁμοίως, φορὰν προδοτῶν καὶ δωροδόκων καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν ἀνθρώπων συνέβη γενέσθαι τοσαύτην ὅσην οὐδεὶς πω πρότερον μέμνηται γεγонуῖαν· οὓς συναγωνιστὰς καὶ συνεργοὺς λαβών, καὶ πρότερον κακῶς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔχοντας πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἔτι χεῖρον διέθηκε, τοὺς μὲν ἐξαπατῶν, τοῖς δὲ διδούς, τοὺς δὲ πάντα τρόπον διαφθείρων, καὶ διέστησεν εἰς μέρη πολλά, ἐνὸς τοῦ συμφέροντος ἅπασιν ὄντος, κωλύειν 82 ἐκεῖνον μέγαν γίγνεσθαι. — Ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ καταστάσει καὶ ἔτι ἄγνοιά τοῦ συνισταμένου καὶ φανομένου κακοῦ τῶν ἀπάκτων Ἑλλήνων ὄντων, δεῖ σκοπεῖν ὑμᾶς, ὃ

τις τὰ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ πρόθυμός ἐστι ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν, — πάντα ταῦτα ψευδῇ γράφας καὶ παράνομα, τῶν νόμων οὐκ ὥντων πρῶτον μὲν ψευδεῖς γραφὰς εἰς τὰ δημόσια γράμματα καταβάλλεσθαι, εἶτα τὸν ὑπεύθυνον στεφανοῦν· ἔστι δὲ Δημοσθένης τειχοποιός καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ τεταγμένος· ἔτι δὲ μὴ ἀναγορεύειν τὸν
 244 στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγοῶν τῇ καινῇ, ἀλλ' ἐὰν μὲν ἢ βουλὴ στεφανοῖ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀναιπεῖν, ἐὰν δὲ ἡ πόλις, ἐν Πυκνὴ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Τίμημα τάλαντα πεντήκοντα. Κλήτορες, Κηφισοφῶν Κηφισοφώντος Ῥαμνούσιος, Κλέων Κλέωνος Κοθωκίδης.

Ἄ μὲν διώκει τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐσ ταῦτ' ἐστίν. Ἐγὼ δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν τούτων πρῶτον οἶμαι δῆλον ὑμῖν ποιήσῃν ὅτι πάντα δικαίως ἀπολογήσομαι· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν τούτῳ ποιησάμενος τῶν γεγραμμένων τάξιν, περὶ πάντων ἐρῶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐφεξῆς καὶ οὐδὲν ἐκὼν παραλείψω. Τοῦ μὲν οὖν γράψαι, πράττοντα ἔ
 καὶ λέγοντα τὰ βέλτιστά με τῷ δήμῳ διατελεῖν καὶ πρόθυμον εἶναι ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν δύνωμαι ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐν τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι νομίζω· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων ἐξεταζομένων εὐρεθήσεται, εἴτε ἀληθῇ περὶ ἐμοῦ γέγραφε Κτησιφῶν ταῦτα καὶ προσήκοντα εἴτε καὶ ψευδῇ. Τὸ δὲ μὴ προσγράψαντα, ἐπειδὰν τὰς εὐ-
 245 θύνας δῶ στεφανοῦν, καὶ ἀναιπεῖν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸν στέφανον κελεύσαι, κοινωνεῖν μὲν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις, εἴτε ἄξιός εἰμι τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναρρήσεως τῆς ἐν τούτοις εἴτε καὶ μή· ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τοὺς νόμους δεικτέον εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ καθ' οὓς ταῦτα γράφειν ἐξῆν τούτῳ. Οὕτως δὲ μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δικαίως καὶ ἀπλῶς τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἔγνωκα ποιεῖσθαι· βαδιῶμαι δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἃ πέπρακταί μοι. Καί με μη-
 246

68 Ἄλλ' ἐκείσε ἐπανέρχομαι. Τί τὴν πόλιν, Αἰσχίνη,
 προσήκε ποιεῖν ἀρχὴν καὶ τυραννίδα τῶν Ἑλλήνων
 ὀρώσαν ἑαυτῷ κατασκευαζόμενον Φίλιππον; Ἡ τί πρὸς
 τὸν σύμβουλον ἔδει λέγειν ἢ γράφειν τὸν Ἀθήνησιν ἐμέ;
 (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο πλεῖστον διαφέρει,) ὃς συνήδεν μὲν ἐκ
 παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ἀφ' ἧς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ
 τὸ βῆμα ἀνέβην, αἰεὶ περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης
 ἀγωνιζομένην τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ πλείω καὶ χρήματα καὶ
 σώματα ἀναλωκυῖαν ὑπὲρ φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῶν πᾶσι
 συμφερόντων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀνα-
 69 λώκασιν ἕκαστοι· ἐώρων δ' αὐτὸν τὸν Φίλιππον, πρὸς
 ὃν ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγών, ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας τὸν
 ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένον, τὴν κλεῖν κατεαγότα, τὴν
 χεῖρα, τὸ σκέλος πεπηρωμένον, πᾶν ὃ τι βουληθείη
 μέρος ἢ τύχη τοῦ σώματος παρελῆσθαι, τοῦτο ῥαδίως
 καὶ ἐτοιμῶς προϊέμενον, ὥστε τῷ λοιπῷ μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ
 69 δόξης ζῆν. Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτό γε οὐδεὶς ἂν εἰπεῖν
 τολμήσειεν, ὥς τῷ μὲν ἐν Πέλλῃ τραφέντι, χωρίῳ
 ἀδόξῳ τότε γε ὄντι καὶ μικρῷ, τοσαύτην μεγαλοφυχίαν
 προσήκεν ἐγγενέσθαι, ὥστε τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῆς
 ἐπιθυμῆσαι καὶ τοῦτ' εἰς τὸν νοῦν ἐμβалέσθαι, ὑμῖν δ'
 οὖσιν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐν πᾶσι
 καὶ λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασι τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς
 ὑπομνήμαθ' ὀρώσι τοσαύτην κακίαν ὑπάρξαι, ὥστε τῆς
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας αὐτεπαγγέλτους ἐθελοντὰς
 παραχωρῆσαι Φιλίππῳ. Οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ταῦτα φήσειεν.
 69 Λοιπὸν τοίνυν ἦν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἅμα, πᾶσιν οἷς ἐκεί-

ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τί προσήκον ἦν ἐλέσθαι πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τούτων λόγον παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν· ὁ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἑαυτὸν τάξας τῆς πολιτείας εἰμὶ ἐγώ.

246 Πότερον αὐτὴν ἐχρῆν, Αἰσχίνη, τὸ φρόνημα ἀφείσαν 63
καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν αὐτῆς, ἐν τῇ Θετταλῶν καὶ Δολοπῶν
τάξει συγκατακτᾶσθαι Φιλίππῳ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων
ἄρχῃν καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων καλὰ καὶ δίκαια ἀναιρεῖν ;
Ἡ τοῦτο μὲν μὴ ποιεῖν (δεινὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς), ἃ δ'
ἑώρα συμβησόμενα, εἰ μηδεὶς κωλύσει, καὶ προησθάνεθ',
ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκ πολλοῦ, ταῦτα περιδεῖν γιγνόμενα ;
'Αλλὰ νῦν ἔγωγε τὸν μάλιστα ἐπιτιμῶντα τοῖς πε- 64
πραγμένοις ἡδέως ἂν ἐροίμην, τῆς ποίας μερίδος γε-
νέσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐβούλετ' ἄν, πότερον τῆς συναυτίας
τῶν συμβεβηκότων τοῖς Ἕλλησι κακῶν καὶ αἰσχυρῶν,
ἧς ἂν Θετταλοὺς καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτων εἴποι τις, ἢ τῆς
περιωρακυίας ταῦτα γιγνόμενα ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἰδίας πλεο-
νεξίας ἐλπίδι, ἧς ἂν Ἀρκάδας καὶ Μεσσηνίους καὶ
'Αργεῖους θείημεν ; 'Αλλὰ καὶ τούτων πολλοί, μᾶλλον 65
δὲ πάντες, χεῖρον ἡμῶν ἀπηλλάχασιν. Καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν
ὡς ἐκράτησε Φίλιππος ᾗχετ' εὐθέως ἀπιῶν καὶ μετὰ
ταῦτ' ἦγεν ἡσυχίαν, μήτε τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων μήτε
τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μηδένα μηδὲν λυπήσας, ὅμως ἦν
ἂν τις κατὰ τῶν οὐκ ἐναντιωθέντων οἷς ἔπραττεν ἐκεῖνος
μέμφεις καὶ κατηγορία· εἰ δὲ ὁμοίως ἀπάντων τὸ ἀξίω-
μα, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν περιείλετο, μᾶλλον
δὲ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας, ὅσων ἡδύνατο, πῶς οὐχ ἀπάντων
ἐνδοξότατα ὑμεῖς ἐβουλεύσασθε ἐμοὶ πεισθέντες ;

πεισθεῖσα ἐμοί, ἔστω δὲ ἀδικήματα πάντα ἃ πέπρακται καὶ ἁμαρτήματα ἐμά. Εἰ δὲ ἔδει τινὰ τούτων κωλυτὴν φαῖναι, τίνα ἄλλον ἢ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον προσήκεται γενέσθαι; Ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐπολιτευόμεν ἐγώ, καὶ ὁρῶν καταδουλούμενον πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐκείνον ἡναντιούμεν, καὶ προλέγων καὶ διδάσκων μὴ προτεσθαι ταῦτα Φιλίππῳ διτελουν.

- 73 Καὶ μὴν τὴν εἰρήνην γ' ἐκείνος ἔλυσε τὰ πλοῖα λαβών, οὐχ ἡ πόλις, Δίσχινη. Φέρε δὲ αὐτὰ τὰ ψήφισματα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ λέγε ἐφεξῆς· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων ἐξεταζομένων, τίς τίνος αἰτιὸς ἐστι γενήσεται φανερόν. Λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

- Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Νεοκλέους, μηνὸς Βοηδρομιῶνος, ἐκκλησίας συγκλήτου ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν, Εὐβουλος Μησιθίου Κόπριος εἶπεν· Ἐπειδὴ προσήγγειλαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὡς ἄρα Λεωδάμαντα τὸν ναύαρχον καὶ τὰ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀποσταλέντα σκάφη εἴκοσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σίτου παραπομπὴν εἰς Ἑλλάσποντον ὁ παρὰ Φιλίππου στρατηγὸς Ἀμύντας καταγόχεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχει, ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς πρυτάνεις καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ὅπως ἡ βουλὴ συναχθῶσι
- 74 καὶ αἰρεθῶσι πρέσβεις πρὸς Φίλιππον, οἱ παραγενόμενοι διαλύονται πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ ἀφεθῆναι τὸν ναύαρχον καὶ τὰ πλοῖα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας. Καὶ εἰ μὲν δι' ἀγνοίαν ταῦτα πεποιήκεν ὁ Ἀμύντας, ὅτι οὐ μεψιμοιρεῖ ὁ δῆμος οὐδὲν αὐτῷ· εἰ δέ τι πλημμελοῦντα παρὰ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα λαβών, ὅτι ἐπισκεψάμενοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπιτιμήσουσι κατὰ τὴν τῆς ὀλιγαρίας ἀξίαν. Εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων ἐστίν, ἀλλ' 250 ἰδίᾳ τι ἀγνωμονοῦσιν ἢ ὁ ἀποστείλας ἢ ὁ ἀπεσταλμένος, καὶ τοῦτο γράψαι λέγειν, ἵνα αἰσθανόμενος ὁ δῆμος βουλευσῇται τί δεῖ ποιεῖν.
- 75 Τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν τὸ ψήφισμα Εὐβουλος ἔγραψεν, οὐκ ἐγώ, τὸ δ' ἐφεξῆς Ἀριστοφῶν, εἰθ' Ἡγήσιππος, εἰθ' Ἀριστοφῶν πάλιν, εἰτα Φιλοκράτης, εἰτα Κηφισοφῶν, εἰτα πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν περὶ τούτων. Λέγε.

νος ἔπραττεν ἀδικῶν ὑμᾶς ἐναντιοῦσθαι δικαίως. Τοῦτ'
 ἐποιεῖτε μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰκότως καὶ προσηκόντως,
 ἔγραφον δὲ καὶ συνεβούλευον καὶ ἐγὼ καθ' οὓς ἐπολι-
 248 τευόμην χρέονους. Ὁμολογῶ. Ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν με
 ποιεῖν; Ἦδη γάρ σ' ἐρωτῶ, πάντα τὰλλ' ἀφείς,
 Ἀμφίπολιν, Πύδναν, Ποτίδαιαν, Ἀλόννησον· οὐδενὸς
 τούτων μέμνημαι. Σέρριον δὲ καὶ Δορίσκον καὶ τὴν το
 Πεπαρήθου πόρθησιν καὶ ὅσ' ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ἡ πόλις
 ἠδίκητο, οὐδ' εἰ γέγονεν οἶδα. Καίτοι σύ γ' ἔφησθά
 με ταῦτα λέγοντα εἰς ἔχθραν ἐμβαλεῖν τουτουσί, Εὐ-
 βούλου καὶ Ἀριστοφῶντος καὶ Διοπείθους τῶν περὶ
 τούτων ψηφισμάτων ὄντων, οὐκ ἐμῶν, ὧ λέγων εὐχερῶς
 ὅ τι ἂν βουλευθῆς. Οὐδὲ νῦν περὶ τούτων ἐρῶ. Ἀλλ' τι
 ὁ τὴν Εὐβοίαν ἐκείνος σφετεριζόμενος καὶ κατασκευά-
 ζων ἐπιτείχισμα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ Μεγάροις ἐπι-
 χειρῶν, καὶ καταλαμβάνων Ὠρεόν, καὶ κατασκάπτων
 Πορθμόν, καὶ καθιστὰς ἐν μὲν Ὠρεῷ Φιλιστιδὴν τύραν-
 νον, ἐν δ' Ἐρετρίᾳ Κλείταρχον, καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον
 ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιοῦμενος, καὶ Βυζάντιον πολιορκῶν, καὶ
 πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας τὰς μὲν ἀναιρῶν, εἰς τὰς δὲ τοὺς
 φυγάδας κατὰγων, πότερον ταῦτα πάντα ποιῶν ἠδίκη-
 καὶ παρεσπόνδει καὶ ἔλυσεν τὴν εἰρήνην ἢ οὐ; Καὶ πό-
 τερον φανῆναί τινα τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν ταῦτα κωλύσοντα
 ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν ἢ μή; Εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ ἐχρῆν, ἀλλὰ τι
 τὴν Μυσῶν λείαν καλουμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὖσαν ὀφθῆ-
 ναι ζώντων καὶ ὄντων Ἀθηναίων, περιείργασμαι μὲν
 ἐγὼ περὶ τούτων εἰπὼν, περιείργασται δ' ἡ πόλις ἢ

70 Ἐνταῦθ' οὐδαμοῦ Δημοσθένην γέγραφεν, οὐδ' αἰτίαν οὐδεμίαν κατ' ἐμοῦ. Τί ποτ' οὖν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγκαλῶν τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων οὐχὶ μέμνηται; Ὅτι τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἂν ἐμέμνητο τῶν αὐτοῦ, εἴ τι περὶ ἐμοῦ γέγραφε· τούτων γὰρ εἰχόμην ἐγὼ καὶ τούτοις ἠναντιούμην. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν εἰς Πελοπόννησον πρεσβείαν ^{πα} ἔγραψα, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκεῖνος εἰς Πελοπόννησον παρεδύετο, εἶτα τὴν εἰς Εὐβοίαν, ἥνικ' Εὐβοίας ἤπτετο, εἶτα τὴν ἐπ' Ὀρεὸν ἔξοδον, οὐκέτι πρεσβείαν, καὶ τὴν εἰς Ἑρέτριαν, ἐπεὶ δὴ τυράννους ἐκεῖνος ἐν ταύταις ταῖς
80 πόλεσι κατέστησεν. Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἅπαντας ἀπέστειλα, καθ' οὓς Χερρόνησος ἐσώθη καὶ Βυζάντιον καὶ πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι. Ἐξ ὧν ὑμῖν μὲν τὰ κάλλιστα, ἔπαινοι, δόξαι, τιμαί, στέφανοι, χαριτες παρὰ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων ὑπῆρχον· τῶν δ' ἀδικουμένων τοῖς μὲν ὑμῖν τότε πεισθεῖσιν ἢ σωτηρία περιεγένετο, τοῖς δ' ὀλιγωρήσασι τὸ πολλάκις ὧν ὑμεῖς προείπατε μεμνήσθαι, καὶ νομίζειν ὑμᾶς μὴ μόνον εἴνους ἐάντοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονίμους ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάντεις εἶναι· πάντα γὰρ ἐκβέβηκεν ἃ προείπατε.

81 Καὶ μὴν ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν ἂν χρήματα ἔδωκε Φίλιστιδος ὥστ' ἔχειν Ὀρεόν, πολλὰ δὲ Κλείταρχος ὥστ' ἔχειν Ἑρέτριαν, πολλὰ δ' αὐτὸς ὁ Φίλιππος ὥστε ταῦθ' ὑπάρχειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων μηδὲν ἐξελέγχεσθαι μηδ' ἃ ποιῶν ἡδίκηκε μηδένα ἐξετάζειν
82 πανταχοῦ, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ, καὶ πάντων ἥκιστα σύ· οἱ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ Κλειτάρχου καὶ τοῦ Φίλιστίδου τότε πρέσβεις

ΦΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Ἐπὶ Νεοκλέους ἄρχοντος, Βοηδρομιῶνος ἔτη καὶ νέα, βουλῆς γνώμῃ, πρυτάνεις καὶ στρατηγοὶ ἐ χρημάτισαν τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνευγκόντες, ὅτι ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ πρέσβεις ἐλθεῖν πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀνακομιδῆς καὶ ἐντολὰς δοῦναι καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ψηφίσματα. Καὶ εἶλοντο τούσδε, Κηφισοφῶντα Κλέωνος Ἀναφλύστιον, Δημόκριτον Δημοφῶντος Ἀναγυράσιον, Πολύκριτον Ἀπημάντου Κοθωκίδην. Πρωτανεία φυλῆς Ἰσποθωντίδος, Ἀριστοφῶν Κολυττεύς πρόεδρος εἶπεν.

Ὡς περ τοῖνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα δεικνύω τὰ ψηφίσματα, τὸ οὕτω καὶ σὺ δείξον, Αἰσχίνη, ποῖον ἐγὼ γράψας ψήφισμα αἰτίος εἰμι τοῦ πολέμου. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις· εἰ γὰρ εἶχες, οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτοῦ πρότερον νυνὶ παρέσχου. Καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ Φίλιππος οὐδὲν αἰτιᾶται ἐμὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου, ἑτέροις ἐγκαλῶν. Λέγε δ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ 77
 251 χαίρειν. Παραγενόμενοι πρὸς ἐμὲ οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν πρεσβευταί, Κηφισοφῶν καὶ Δημόκριτος καὶ Πολύκριτος, διελέγοντο περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀφέσεως ὡς ἐναυάρχῃ Λαομέδων. Καθ' ὅλου μὲν οὖν ἔμοιγε φαίνεσθε ἐν μεγάλῃ εὐηθείᾳ ἔσεσθαι, εἰ οἴεσθ' ἐμὲ λανθάνειν, ὅτι ἐξαπεστάλη ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς τὸν σῖτον παραπέμψοντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου εἰς Λήμνον, βοηθήσοντα δὲ Σηλυμβριανοῖς τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μὲν πολιορκουμένοις, οὐ συμπεριειλημμένοις δὲ ἐν ταῖς τῆς φιλίας κοινῇ κειμέναις ἡμῖν συνθήκαις. Καὶ ταῦτα συνεσάχθη 78
 τῷ ναυάρχῳ ἀνευ μὲν τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπὸ δὲ τινων ἀρχόντων καὶ ἑτέρων ἰδιωτῶν μὲν νῦν ὄντων, ἐκ παντὸς δὲ τρόπου βουλομένων τὸν δῆμον ἀντὶ τῆς νῦν ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς ἐμὲ φιλίας τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλαβεῖν, πολλῶ μᾶλλον φιλοτιμουμένων τοῦτο συντετελέσθαι ἢ τοῖς Σηλυμβριανοῖς βοηθήσαι. Καὶ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν αὐτοῖς τὸ τοιοῦτο πρόσδοτον ἔσεσθαι· οὐ μέντοι μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτο χρήσιμον ὑπάρχειν οὐθ' ὑμῖν οὐτ' ἐμοί. Διόπερ τά τε νῦν καταχθέντα πλοῖα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφίημι ὑμῖν, καὶ ταῦ λοιποῦ, εἴαν βούλησθε μὴ ἐπιτρέψειν τοῖς προεστηκόσιν ὑμῶν κακοῦθως πολιτεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιτιμᾶτε, πειράσομαι ἀπὸ διαφυλάττειν τὴν εἰρήνην. Εὐτυχεῖτε.

τα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος ὄφη συμβήσεσθαι, εἴαν ἐγὼ στεφανῶν
μαι; Καὶ μὴν ὅταν ἡ νέα καὶ γνώριμα πᾶσι τὰ
πράγματα, εἴαν τε καλῶς ἔχῃ, χάριτος τυγχάνει, εἴαν θ'
ὡς ἐτέρως, τιμωρίας. Φαίνομαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ χάριτος
τετυχηκὼς τότε, καὶ οὐ μέμψεως οὐδὲ τιμωρίας.

86 Οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων ἐν οἷς ταῦτ'
ἐπράχθη, πάντας ἀνωμολόγηται τοὺς χρόνους τὰ ἄριστα
πράττειν τῇ πόλει, τῷ νικᾶν, ὅτ' ἐβουλευέσθε, λέγων
καὶ γράφων, τῷ καταπραχθῆναι τὰ γραφέντα καὶ στε-
φάνους ἐξ αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῶν
γενέσθαι, τῷ θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ προσόδους ὡς ἀγα-
θῶν τούτων ὄντων ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι.

9187 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁ Φίλιππος ἐξηλάθη,
τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις ὑφ' ὑμῶν, τῇ δὲ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τοῖς ψη-
φίσμασι (κἂν διαρραγῶσί τινες τούτων), ὑπ' ἐμοῦ,
ἕτερον κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτειχισμὸν ἐξήτει. Ὅρων
δ' ὅτι σίτῃ πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλείστῃ χρώμεθ' ἐπει-
σάκτῃ, βουλόμενος τῆς σιτοπομπίας κύριος γενέσθαι,
παρελθὼν ἐπὶ Θράκης Βυζαντίους συμμάχους ὄντας
αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡξίου συμπολεμεῖν τὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς
πόλεμον, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἤθελον οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔφασαν τὴν
συμμαχίαν πεποιῆσθαι, λέγοντες ἀληθῆ, χαράκωμα
βαλόμενος πρὸς τῇ πόλει καὶ μηχανήματ' ἐπιστήσας
88 ἐπολιόρκει. Τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων, ὃ τι μὲν προσῆκε
ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς οὐκέτ' ἐρωτήσω· δῆλον γάρ ἐστιν ἅπασιν. 251
Ἀλλὰ τίς ἦν ὁ βοηθήσας τοῖς Βυζαντίοις καὶ σώσας
αὐτούς; Τίς ὁ κωλύσας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀλλοτριω-

δεῦρ' ἀφικνούμενοι παρὰ σοὶ κατέλουν, Δίσχινη, καὶ σὺ
 προὔξενεις αὐτῶν · οὓς ἡ μὲν πόλις ὡς ἐχθρούς καὶ οὔτε
 δίκαια οὔτε συμφέροντα λέγοντας ἀπήλασε, σοὶ δ' ἦσαν
 φίλοι. Οὐ τοίνυν ἐπράχθη τούτων οὐδέν, ὦ βλασφη-
 μῶν περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγων ὡς σιωπῶ μὲν λαβών, βοῶ δ'
 253 ἀναλώσας! Ἄλλ' οὐ σύ γε, ἀλλὰ βοᾷς μὲν ἔχων,
 παύσει δὲ οὐδέποτ', ἐὰν μή σε οὔτοι παύσωσιν ἀτιμώ-
 σαντες τήμερον.

Στεφανώσαντων τοίνυν ὑμῶν ἐμὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις τότε, καὶ 83
 γράψαντος Ἀριστονίκου τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς ἄσπερ
 αὐτοσὶ Κτησιφῶν νῦν γέγραφε, καὶ ἀναρρήθέντος ἐν τῷ
 θεάτρῳ τοῦ στεφάνου, καὶ δευτέρου κηρύγματος ἤδη μοι
 τούτου γυγνομένου, οὗτ' ἀντεῖπεν Δίσχινης παρὼν οὔτε
 τὸν εἰπόντα ἐγράψατο. Καί μοι λέγε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ
 ψήφισμα λαβών.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου Ἠγέμονος ἄρχοντος, Γαμηλιῶνος ἕκτη ἀπρίοντος, 84
 φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Λεοντίδος, Ἀριστόνικος Φρεάρριος εἶπεν ·
 Ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας
 χρείας παρέσχηται τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν συμμά-
 χων καὶ πρότερον καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ βεβοήθηκε διὰ τῶν ψη-
 φισμάτων καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεων ἡλευθέρωκε, καὶ διατε-
 λεῖ εἶρους ὢν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ λέγει καὶ πράττει ὃ τι ἀν-
 δύνηται ἀγαθὸν ὑπὲρ τε αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων,
 δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐπαινέσαι Δημοσθένην
 Δημοσθένους Παιανίεα καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγο-
 ρεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις, τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς · τῆς
 δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως τοῦ στεφάνου ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὴν πρυτανεύουσαν φυ-
 254 λὴν καὶ τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην. Εἶπεν Ἀριστόνικος Φρεάρριος.

Ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις ὑμῶν οἰδέ τινα αἰσχύνῃν τῇ πόλει 85
 συμβᾶσαν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἢ χλευασμὸν ἢ γέλω-

Πύθια, καὶ ἀνακαρῦξαι τὰς στεφάνους ὅτι ἐστεφάνωνται ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἐπιστέωνται οἱ Ἕλληνας πάντες Ἀθηναίων ἀρετὰν καὶ τὰν Βυζαντίων καὶ Περυνθίων εὐχαριστίαν.

92 Λέγε καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Χερρόνησῳ στεφάνους.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΧΕΡΡΟΝΗΣΙΤΩΝ.

Χερρόνησιτῶν οἱ κατοικοῦντες Σηστόν, Ἐλεοῦντα, Μάδυντον, Ἀλεπεκόννησον στεφανοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ὑπὸ τολάντων ἐξήκοστα, καὶ χάριτος βωμὸν ἰδρύσθαι καὶ δῆμον Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι πάντων μεγίστου ἀγαθῶν παραίτιος γέγονε Χερρόνησίταις, ἐξελόμενος ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου καὶ ἀποδοὺς τὰς πατρίδας, τοὺς νόμους, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὰ ἱερά. Καὶ ἐν τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα εἶπε 287 παντὶ οὐκ ἐλλείψει εὐχαριστῶν καὶ ποιῶν ὃ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν. Ταῦτα ἐψηφίσαντο ἐν κοινῷ βουλευτηρίῳ.

93 Οὐκ οὖν οὐ μόνον τὸ Χερρόνησον καὶ Βυζάντιον σῶσαι, οὐδὲ τὸ κωλύσαι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ Φιλίππου γενέσθαι τότε, οὐδὲ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τούτων, ἢ προαίρεσις ἢ ἐμὴ καὶ ἡ πολιτεία διεπράξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἔδειξεν ἀνθρώποις τὴν τε τῆς πόλεως καλοκαγαθίαν καὶ τὴν Φιλίππου κακίαν. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ σύμμαχος ὢν τοῖς Βυζαντίοις, πολιορκῶν αὐτοὺς ἐωρᾶτο ὑπὸ πάντων, οὐ τί γένοιτ' ἂν αἰσχίον ἢ μιαιώτερον ; 94 Ὅτι δ' οἱ καὶ μεμψάμενοι πολλὰ καὶ δίκαια ἂν ἐκείνοις εἰκότως περὶ ὧν ἡγνωμονήκεσαν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθε χρόνοις, οὐ μόνον οὐ μνησικακοῦντες οὐδὲ προϊέμενοι τοὺς ἀδικουμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ σώζοντες ἐφάνεσθε· ἐξ ὧν δόξαν, εὐνοίαν, τιμὴν παρὰ πάντων ἐκτάσθε. Καὶ μὴν ὅτι μὲν πολλοὺς ἐστεφανώκατ' ἥδη τῶν πολιτευομένων ἅπαντες ἴσασι· δι' ὅτινα δ' ἄλλον ἢ πόλιν ἐστεφάνωνται, σύμβουλον λέγω καὶ ῥήτορα, πλὴν δι' ἐμέ, οὐδ' ἂν εἰς εἰπεῖν ἔχοι.

θῆναι κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους; Ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. Το δ' ὑμεῖς ὅταν λέγω, τὴν πόλιν λέγω. Τίς δ' ὁ τῇ πόλει λέγων καὶ γράφων καὶ πράττων καὶ ἀπλῶς ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἀφειδῶς διδούς; Ἐγώ.

Ἄλλὰ μὴν ἡλίκα ταῦτα ὠφέλησεν ἅπαντας, οὐκέτ' ἐκ τοῦ λόγου δεῖ μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ πεπειράσθε· ὁ γὰρ τότε ἐνστάς πόλεμος, ἄνευ τοῦ καλὴν δόξαν ἐνεγκεῖν, ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀφθονωτέροις καὶ εὐωνοτέροις διήγγεν ὑμᾶς τῆς νῦν εἰρήνης, ἣν οὗτοι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τηροῦσιν οἱ χρηστοὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς μελλούσαις ἐλπίσιν, ὧν διαμάρτοιν, καὶ μὴ μετάσχοιν ὧν ὑμεῖς δὲ τὰ βέλτιστα τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτεῖτε, μηδὲ μεταδοῖεν ὑμῖν ὧν αὐτοὶ προήρηνται! Λέγε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς τῶν Βυζαντίων στεφάνους καὶ τοὺς τῶν Περινηθίων, οἷς ἐστεφάνουν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ.

Ἐπὶ ἱερονάμονος Βοσπορίῳ Δαμάγητος ἐν τῇ ἀλίᾳ ἔλαξεν, ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς λαβὼν ῥήτραν· Ἐπειδὴ ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων, ἐν τε τοῖς προγεγενημένοις καιροῖς εὐνοέων διατελεῖ Βυζαντίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ συγγενέσι Περινηθίοις καὶ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχηται, ἐν τε τῇ παρεστακῷ καιρῷ Φιλίππῳ τῷ Μακεδόνος ἐπιστρατεύσαντος ἐπὶ τὰν χώραν καὶ τὰν πόλιν ἐπ' ἀναστάσει Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινηθίων καὶ τὰν χώραν δαίοντος καὶ δυνδροκοπέοντος, βοηθήσας πλοίοις ἑκατὸν καὶ εἰκοσι καὶ σίτη καὶ βέλεσι καὶ ὀπλίταις ἐξέλιετο ἅμμε ἐκ τῶν μεγάλων κινδύνων καὶ ἀποκατέστας τὰν πόλιν πολιτείαν καὶ τῶς νόμους καὶ τῶς τάφους, δεδόχθαι τῷ δᾶμῳ τῇ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινηθίων Ἀθηναίοις δόμεν ἐπιγαμίαν, πολιτείαν, ἔγκτασιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκιᾶν, προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι, πόθοδον ποτὶ τὰν βουλὰν καὶ τὸν δᾶμον πρᾶτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά, καὶ τοῖς κατοικεῖν ἐθέλουσι τὰν πόλιν ἀλειτουργήτοις ἡμεν πασῶν τῶν λειτουργιῶν· στᾶσαι δὲ καὶ εἰκόνας τρεῖς ἑκαταπῆχαις ἐν τῷ Βοσπόρῳ, στεφανούμενον τὸν δᾶμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ὑπὸ τῷ δᾶμῳ τῷ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινηθίων· ἀποστελεῖν δὲ καὶ θεωρίας ἐς τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πανηγύριαις, Ἰσθμια καὶ Νέμεα καὶ Ὀλύμπια καὶ

αὐτὸν καθείρξας τηρῇ· δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐγχειρεῖν μὲν ἅπασιν ἀεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς, τὴν ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, φέρειν δ' ὅ τι ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῶ γενναίως.

- 98 Ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι, ταῦθ' ὑμῶν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, οἷ, Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φίλους ὄντας οὐδ' εὐεργέτας, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἡδίκηκότας καὶ μεγάλα, ἐπειδὴ Θηβαῖοι κρατήσαντες ἐν Λεύκτροις ἀνελὼν ἐπεχείρουν, διεκωλύσατε, οὐ φοβηθέντες τὴν τότε 200 Θηβαίοις ῥώμην καὶ δόξαν ὑπάρχουσαν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ οἷα πεποικηκότων ἀνθρώπων κινδυνεύσετε διαλογισάμενοι.
- 99 Καὶ γάρ τοι πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐδείξατε ἐκ τούτων ὅτι, καὶ ὅτιοῦν τις εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξαμάρτη, τούτῳ τὴν ὀργὴν εἰς τὰλλα ἔχετε, ἂν δ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἢ ἐλευθερίας κίνδυνός τις αὐτοὺς καταλαμβάνῃ, οὔτε μνησικακήσετε οὐθ' ὑπολογιείσθε. Καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτων μόνον οὕτως ἐσχήκατε, ἀλλὰ πάλιν σφετεριζομένων Θηβαίων τὴν Εὐβοίαν οὐ περιείδετε, οὐδ' ὦν ὑπὸ Θεμισωνος καὶ Θεοδώρου· περὶ Ὡρωπὸν ἡδίκησθε ἀνεμνήσθητε, ἀλλ' ἐβοηθήσατε καὶ τούτοις, τῶν ἐθελοντῶν τότε τριηράρχων πρῶτον γενομένων τῇ πόλει, ὦν εἰς ἡν ἐγώ. Ἀλλ'
- 100 οὕτω περὶ τούτων. Καίτοι καλὸν μὲν ἐποιήσατε καὶ τὸ σῶσαι τὴν νῆσον, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι τούτου κάλλιον τὸ καταστάντες κύριοι καὶ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τῶν πόλεων αποδοῦναι ταῦτα δικαίως αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐξημαρτηκόσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς, μηδὲν ὦν ἡδίκησθε ἐν οἷς ἐπιστεύθητε ὑπολογισάμενοι. Μυρία τοίνυν ἕτερα εἰπεῖν ἔχων παραλείπω,

ἵνα τοίνυν καὶ τὰς βλασφημίας ἃς κατὰ τῶν Ἰου-
 95 βοέων καὶ τῶν Βυζαντίων ἐποιήσατο, εἴ τι δυσχερὲς
 αὐτοῖς ἐπέπρακτο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπομνησκων, συκοφαν-
 τίας οὔσας ἐπιδείξω, μὴ μόνον τῷ ψευδεῖς εἶναι (τοῦτο
 μὲν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς εἰδότες ἡγοῦμαι), ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ,
 εἰ τὰ μάλιστ' ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὕτως ὡς ἐγὼ κέχρημαι
 τοῖς πράγμασι συμφέρειν χρήσασθαι, ἐν ἧ δύο βούλο-
 100 μαι τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς πεπραγμένων καλῶν τῇ πόλει διε-
 ξελθεῖν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν βραχέσιν. Καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἰδίᾳ
 καὶ πόλιν κοινῇ πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀεὶ
 δεῖ πειρᾶσθαι τὰ λοιπὰ πράττειν.

Ἔμεις τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Δακεδαμονίων γῆς
 καὶ θαλάττης ἀρχόντων καὶ τὰ κύκλῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς
 κατεχόντων ἀρμοσταῖς καὶ φρουραῖς, Εὐβοίαν, Τάνα-
 γραν, τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἅπασαν, Μέγαρον, Αἰγίναν, Κλεω-
 νάς, τὰς ἄλλας νήσους, οὐ ναῦς, οὐ τείχη τῆς πόλεως
 τότε κεκτημένης, ἐξήλθετε εἰς Ἀλίартον καὶ πάλιν οὐ
 πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον εἰς Κόρινθον, τῶν τότε Ἀθη-
 ναίων πόλλ' ἂν ἐχόντων μνησικακῆσαι καὶ Κορινθίους
 καὶ Θηβαίους τῶν περὶ τὸν Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον πρα-
 χθέντων. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐποιοῦν τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἐγγύς. Καίτοι
 110 τότε ταῦτα ἀμφοτέρω, Αἰσχίνῃ, οὐθ' ὑπὲρ εὐεργετῶν
 ἐποιοῦν οὔτ' ἀκίνδυνα ἐώρων. Ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ ταῦτα
 προσῆντο τοὺς καταφεύγοντας ἐφ' ἑαυτούς, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ
 εὐδοξίας καὶ τιμῆς ἤθελον τοῖς δεινοῖς αὐτοὺς διδόναι,
 ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς βουλευόμενοι. Πέρας μὲν γὰρ ἅπασιν
 ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου θάνατος, καὶ ἐν οἰκίσκῳ τις

φυγον, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων ὁ διώκων οὐκ ἔλαβεν.
 Καίτοι πόσα χρήματα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν συμμοριῶν ἢ
 τοὺς δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους οἶεσθέ μοι διδόναι, ὥστε
 μάλιστα μὲν μὴ θείναι τὸν νόμον τοῦτον, εἰ δὲ μή,
 104 καταβαλόντα ἔαν ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ; Τοσαῦτ', ὦ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅσα ὀκνήσαιμ' ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν. Καὶ
 ταῦτ' εἰκότως ἔπραττον ἐκείνοι. Ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ μὲν
 τῶν προτέρων νόμων συνεκκαῖδεκα λειτουργεῖν, αὐτοῖς
 μὲν μικρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν ἀναλίσκουσι, τοὺς δ' ἀπόρους τῶν
 πολιτῶν ἐπιτρίβουσιν· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου τὸ γυγνό- 31
 μενον κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἕκαστον τιθέναι, καὶ δυοῖν ἐφάνη
 τριήραρχος ὁ τῆς μιᾶς ἕκτος καὶ δέκατος πρότερον
 συντελής· οὐδὲ γὰρ τριηράρχους ἔτι ὠνόμαζον ἑαυτοὺς,
 ἀλλὰ συντελεῖς. Ὡστε δὴ ταῦτα λυθῆναι καὶ μὴ τὰ
 δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκασθῆναι, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὃ τι οὐκ ἐδίδρασαν.
 105 Καί μοι λέγε πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ψήφισμα καθ' ὃ εἰσῆλθον
 τὴν γραφὴν, εἶτα τοὺς καταλόγους, τὸν τ' ἐκ τοῦ προ-
 τέρου νόμου καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὸν ἐμόν. Λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Πολυκλέους, μηνὸς Βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα,
 φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Ἱπποβοωντίδος, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παια-
 ριεὺς εἰσήνεγκε νόμον τριηραρχικὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ προτέρου, καθ' ὃν αἱ
 συντέλειαι ἦσαν τῶν τριηράρχων· καὶ ἐπεχειροτόνησεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ
 ὁ δῆμος· Καὶ ἀπήνεγκε παρανόμων Δημοσθένει Πατροκλῆς Φλυεύς,
 καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐ λαβὼν ἀπέτισε τὰς πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς.

106 Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὸν καλὸν κατάλογον.

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

Τοὺς τριηράρχους καλεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη συνεκκαῖδεκα ἐκ τῶν ἐν

ναυμαχίας, ἐξόδους πεζάς, στρατείας, καὶ πάλαι γεγονυίας καὶ νῦν ἐφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, ἃς ἀπάσας ἡ πόλις τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἔνεχ' Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας πεποιήται.

Εἴτ' ἐγὼ τεθεωρηκὼς ἐν τοσούτοις καὶ τοιούτοις τὴν 101 πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις συμφερόντων ἐθέλουσαν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τρόπον τινα τῆς βουλῆς οὔσης τί ἐμελλον κελεύσειν ἢ τί συμβουλεύσειν αὐτῇ ποιεῖν ; Μνησικακεῖν νῆ Δία πρὸς τοὺς βουλομένους σῶζεσθαι, 200 καὶ προφάσεις ζητεῖν δι' ἃς ἅπαντα προησόμεθα. Καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινέ με δικαίως, εἴ τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει καλῶν λόγῳ μόνον κατασχίνας ἐπεχείρησ' αὐν ; Ἐπεὶ τό γε ἔργον οὐκ ἂν ἐποίησας ὑμεῖς, ἀκριβῶς οἶδ' ἐγώ· εἰ γὰρ ἡβούλεσθε, τί ἦν ἐμποδῶν ; Οὐκ ἔξην ; Οὐχ ὑπῆρχον οἱ ταῦτ' ἐροῦντες οὗτοι ;

Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἐπανελθεῖν ἐφ' ἃ τούτων ἐξῆς ἐπο- 102 λιτευόμην· καὶ σκοπεῖτε ἐν τούτοις πάλιν αὖ τί τὸ τῇ πόλει βέλτιστον ἦν. Ὅρων γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ ναυτικὸν ὑμῶν καταλυόμενον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλουσίους ἀτελεῖς ἀπὸ μικρῶν ἀναλωμάτων γυγνομένους, τοὺς δὲ μέτρια ἢ μικρὰ κεκτημένους τῶν πολιτῶν τὰ ὄντα ἀπολλύντας, ἔτι δ' ὑστερίζουσαν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν τῶν καιρῶν, ἔθηκα νόμον καθ' ὃν τοὺς μὲν τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἠνάγκασα, τοὺς πλουσίους, τοὺς δὲ πένητας ἔπαυσ' ἀδικουμένους, τῇ πόλει δ' ὅπερ ἦν χρησιμώτατον, ἐν καιρῷ γίνεσθαι τὰς παρασκευὰς ἐποίησα. Καὶ 103 γραφεῖς τὸν ἀγῶνα τούτου εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσῆλθον καὶ ἀπέ-

καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις συνέβαινον τῇ πόλει· βάσσανον 263
 δὲ καὶ πικρὸν καὶ κακότηδες οὐδέν ἐστι πολίτευμα ἐμόν,
 100 οὐδὲ ταπεινόν, οὐδὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀνάξιον. Ταὐτὸ τοίνυν
 ἦθος ἔχων ἔν τε τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πολιτεύμασι καὶ
 ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς φανήσομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει
 τὰς παρὰ τῶν πλουσίων χάριτας μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν
 πολλῶν δίκαια εἰλόμην, οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς τὰ
 Φιλίππου δῶρα καὶ τὴν ξενίαν ἡγάπησα ἀντὶ τῶν κοινῇ
 ὑπᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησι συμφερόντων.

110 Ἡγούμαι τοίνυν λοιπὸν εἶναί μοι περὶ τοῦ κηρύγμα-
 τος εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν· τὸ γὰρ ὡς τὰ ἄριστά τε
 ἔπραττον καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὖνους εἰμι καὶ πρό-
 θυμος εὖ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἱκανῶς ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων δε-
 δηλωσθαί μοι νομίζω. Καίτοι τὰ μέγιστα γε τῶν
 πεπολιτευμένων καὶ πεπραγμένων ἐμαυτῷ παραλείπω,
 ὑπολαμβάνων πρῶτον μὲν ἐφεξῆς τοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ
 παρανόμου λόγους ἀποδοῦναί με δεῖν, εἴτα, κἂν μηδὲν
 εἴπω περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πολιτευμάτων, ὁμοίως παρ' ὑμῶν
 ἐκάστω τὸ συνειδὸς ὑπάρχειν μοι.

111 Τῶν μὲν οὖν λόγων οὗς αὐτός ἄνω καὶ κάτω διακυκλῶν
 ἔλεγε περὶ τῶν παραγεγραμμένων νόμων, οὔτε μὰ τοῦ
 θεοῦς οἶμαι ὑμᾶς μαυθάνειν, οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἡδυνάμην συνεί-
 ναι τοὺς πολλούς· ἀπλῶς δὲ τὴν ὀρθὴν περὶ τῶν
 δικαίων διαλέξομαι. Τοσούτου γὰρ δέω λέγειν ὡς εὖ
 αἰμὶ ὑπεύθυνος, ὃ νῦν οὗτος διέβαλλε καὶ διωρίζετο,
 ὥσθ' ἅπαντα τὸν βίον ὑπεύθυνος εἶναι ὁμολογῶ ἀπ' ἧ
 112 διακεχείρικα ἢ πεπολιτεύμαι παρ' ὑμῖν. Ὡν μέντοι γε

ταῖς λάχοις συντέλειων, ἀπὸ εἴκοσι καὶ πάντε ἐτῶν εἰς τετταράκοντα, ἐπὶ ἴσον τῇ χορηγίᾳ χρωμένους.

Φέρε δὴ παρὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου κατὰ-λογον.

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

262 Τοὺς τριηράρχους αἰρεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας κατὰ τήμησιν, ἀπὸ ταλάντων δέκα· ἐὰν δὲ πλείονων ἡ οὐσία ἀποτετιμημένη ἢ χρημάτων, κατὰ τὸν ἀναλογισμὸν ἕως τριῶν πλοίων καὶ ὑπηρετικοῦ ἢ λειτουργίας ἔστω. Κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ ἀναλογίαν ἔστω καὶ οἰς ἐλάττων οὐσία ἐστὶ τῶν δέκα ταλάντων, εἰς συντέλειαν συναγομένοις εἰς τὰ δέκα τάλαντα.

Ἄρά γε μικρὰ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς πένησιν ὑμῶν δοκῶ, 108 ἢ μικρὰ ἀναλῶσαι ἂν τοῦ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν οἱ πλούσιοι; Οὐ τοίνυν μόνον τῷ μὴ καθυφεῖναι ταῦτα σεμνύνομαι, οὐδὲ τῷ γραφεῖς ἀποφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ συμφέροντα θεῖναι τὸν νόμον καὶ τῷ πείραν ἔργῳ δεδωκέναι. Πάντα γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον τῶν ἀποστέλων γιγνομένων κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἐμόν, οὐχ ἱκετηρίαν ἔθηκε τριηράρχος οὐδεὶς πώποθ' ὡς ἀδικούμενος παρ' ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἐν Μουνυχίᾳ ἐκαθέζετο, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστολέων ἐδέεθ, οὐ τριήρης οὐτ' ἔξω καταληφθεῖσα ἀπώλετο τῇ πόλει, οὐτ' αὐτοῦ ἀπελείφθη οὐ δυναμένη ἀνάγεσθαι. Καίτοι κατὰ τοὺς προτέρους νόμους ἅπαντα ταῦτα 108 ἐγίνετο. Τὸ δ' αἴτιον, ἐν τοῖς πένησιν ἦν τὸ λειτουργεῖν· πολλὰ δὴ τὰ ἀδύνατα συνέβαινεν. Ἐγὼ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων εἰς τοὺς εὐπόρους μετήνεγκα τὰς τριηραρχίας· πάντ' οὖν τὰ δέοντα ἐγίνετο. Καὶ μὴν καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἄξιός εἰμι ἐπαίνου τυχεῖν, ὅτι πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα προηρούμην πολιτεύματα ἀφ' ὧν ἅμα δόξαι

ελιον γὰρ ἂν εἴη τοῦτό γε, εἰ τῇ τινὰ ἀρχὴν ἀρχοντι ᾗ
 διδόναι τῇ πόλει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐξέσται,
 ἢ τῶν δοθέντων ἀντὶ τοῦ καμίσασθαι χάριν εὐθύνας
 115 ὑφέξει. Ὅτι τοῖων ταύτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, λέγε τῷ 205
 ψηφίσματά μοι τὰ τούτοις γεγενημένα αὐτὰ λαβόμεν.
 Λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Ἄρχων Δημόνικος Φλυεύς, Βοηδρομιῶνος ἔκτη μετ' εἰκάδα, γνώμη
 βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, Καλλίας Φρεάρριος εἶπεν, ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ
 τῇ δήμῳ στεφανῶσαι Ναυσικλέα τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλων, ὅτι Ἀθηναίων
 ὀπλιτῶν δισχιλίῳ ὄντων ἐν Ἰμβρῷ καὶ βοηθοῦντων τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν
 Ἀθηναίων τὴν νῆσον, οὐ δυναμένου Φίλωνος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως
 κεχειροτονημένου διὰ τοὺς χειμῶνας πλεῦσαι καὶ μισθοδοτῆσαι τοὺς
 ὀπλίτας, ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἔδωκε καὶ οὐκ εἰσέπραξε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ
 ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον Διονυσίοις τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς.

ἜΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

116 Εἶπε Καλλίας Φρεάρριος, πρυτάνεων λεγόντων βουλῆς γνώμη.
 Ἐπειδὴ Χαρίδημος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, ἀποσταλεὶς εἰς Σαλαμίνα, καὶ
 Διότιμος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων, ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μάχῃ τῶν στρα-
 τιωτῶν τινῶν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων σκυλευθέντων, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλω-
 μάτων καθώπλισαν τοὺς νεανίσκους ἀσπίσιν ὀκτακοσίαις, δεδύχθαι τῇ
 βουλῇ καὶ τῇ δήμῳ στεφανῶσαι Χαρίδημον καὶ Διότιμον χρυσῷ
 στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις ἐν τῇ γυμνικῇ
 ἀγῶνι καὶ Διονυσίοις τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς. τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμε-
 ληθῆναι θεσμοθέτας, πρυτάνεις, ἀγωνοθέτας. 206

117 Τούτων ἕκαστος, Διοσχίση, τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ἧς ἦρχεν
 ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἐφ' οἷς δ' ἐστεφανούτο οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος.
 Οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ἐγώ. ταῦτά γὰρ δίκαιά ἐστί μοι περὶ τῶν
 αὐτῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις δήπου. Ἐπέδωκα. ἐπαινούμαι διὰ
 ταῦτα, οὐκ ὦν ὦν ἐπέδωκα ὑπεύθυνος. Ἐρχον. καὶ
 δέδωκά γε εὐθύνας ἐκείνων, οὐχ ὦν ἐπέδωκα. Νὴ Δί',

ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἐπαγγειλόμενος δέδωκα τῇ δῆμῳ, οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν ὑπεύθυνος εἶναί φημι, (ἀκούεις Δισχύ-
 284 117;) οὐδ' ἄλλον οὐδένα, οὐδ' ἂν τῶν ἐννεά ἀρχόντων
 τις ὦν τύχη. Τίς γάρ ἐστι νόμος τασαύτης ἀδικίας καὶ
 μισανθρωπίας μεστέ, ὥστε τὸν δόντα τι τῶν ἰδίων καὶ
 ποιήσαντα πρᾶγμα φιλάνθρωπον καὶ φιλόδωρον τῆς
 χάριτος μὲν ἀποστερεῖν, εἰς τοὺς συκοφάντας δ' ἄγειν,
 καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθύνas ὦν ἔδωκεν ἐφιστάναι;
 Οὐδὲ εἰς. Εἰ δέ φησιν οὗτος, δειξάτω, κἀγὼ στέρεω
 καὶ σιωπήσομαι.

Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ' οὗτος 113
 συκοφαντῶν, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ τότε ὦν ἐπέδωκα τὰ
 χρήματα, ἐπήνεσεν αὐτόν φησιν ἡ βουλή ὑπεύ-
 θυνον ὄντα. Οὐ περὶ τούτων γε οὐδενὸς ὦν ὑπεύθυνος
 ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέδωκα, ὦ συκοφάντα. Ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τειχοποιὸς ἦσθα, φησὶν. Καὶ διὰ γε τοῦτο ὀρθῶς
 ἐπηρεάζουμην, ὅτι τὰνηλωμένα ἐπέδωκα καὶ οὐκ ἐλογιζό-
 μην. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ λογισμὸς εὐθυνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐξετασόντων
 προσδεύεται, ἡ δὲ δωρεὰ χάριτος καὶ ἐπαίνου δικαία ἐστὶ
 τυγχάνειν· διόπερ ταῦτ' ἔγραψεν ὁδὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ. Ὅτι 114
 δ' οὕτω ταῦτα οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς νόμοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν
 τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἤθεσιν ὄρισταί, ἐγὼ ῥαδίως παλλαχόθεν
 δείξω. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Ναυσικλῆς στρατηγῶν, ἐφ' οἷς
 ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων προεῖτο πολλάκις ἐστεφάνωνται ὑφ' ἡμῶν·
 εἶθ' ὅτε τὰς ἀσπίδας Διότιμος ἔδωκε καὶ πάλιν Χαρίδη-
 μοι, ἐστεφανοῦντο· εἶθ' οὕτως Νεοπτόλεμος, πολλῶν
 ἔργων ἐπιστάτης ὦν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέδωκε ταμίηται. Σχέ-

θεῶν οὐκ ἄσπαιος εἰ καὶ ἀναίσθητος, Δισχίνη, ὥστ' εὖ δύνασαι λογίσασθαι ὅτι τῷ μὲν στεφανουμένῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει ἕλπον ὁ στέφανος, ὅπου ἂν ἀναρρήθῃ, τοῦ δὲ τῶν στεφανούντων ἕνεκα συμφέροντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γίγνεται τὸ κήρυγμα; οἱ γὰρ ἀκούσαντες ἅπαντες εἰς τὸ ποιῶν εὖ τὴν πόλιν προτρέπονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀποδιδόντας τὴν χάριν μᾶλλον ἐπαινοῦσι τοῦ στεφανουμένου· διόπερ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἡ πόλις γέγραφεν. Λέγε δ' αὐτόν μοι τὸν νόμον λαβών.

ΝΟΜΟΣ.

Ὅσους στεφανοῦσι τινες τῶν δήμων, τὰς ἀναγορεύσεις τῶν στεφάνων ποιῆσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκάστους τοῖς ἰδίοις δήμοις, ἐὰν μὴ τινες ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἢ ἡ βουλὴ στεφανῶι· τούτους δ' ἐφεῖναι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις ἀναγορεύεσθαι.

- 121 Ἀκαύνεις, Δισχίνη, τοῦ νόμον λέγοντος σαφῶς, πλὴν εἴαν τινες ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσῃται· τοῦ- 200
τους δὲ ἀναγορευέτω. Τί οὖν, ὦ ταλαίπωρε, συκοφαντεῖς; Τί λόγους πλάττετε; Τί σαιτὸν οὐχ ἔλλεβορίζεις ἐπὶ ταύτοις; Ἀλλ' οὐδ' αἰσχύνῃ φθόνου δίκην εἰσάγων, οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδενός, καὶ νόμους μεταποιῶν, τῶν δ' ἀφαιρῶν μέρη, οὓς ὅλους δίκαιον ἦν ἀναγνῶσκεσθαι τοῖς γε ὁμωμοκόσι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ψηφιεῖ-
122 σθαι. Ἐπειτα τοιαῦτα ποιῶν λέγεις ἃ δεῖ προσεῖναι τῷ δημοτικῷ, ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντα ἐκδεδωκὸς κατὰ συγγραφὴν, εἰτ' οὐκ ἔχοντα ἃ προσήκεν ἐκ τῆς συγγραφῆς κομιζόμενος, ἢ λόγῳ τοὺς δημοτικούς ἄλλ' οὐ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς πολιτεύμασι γυγνωσκομένους. Καὶ

βοῆς ῥήτᾱ καὶ ἄρρητα ὀνομάζων, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀμάξης, ἀ
σοὶ καὶ τῷ σῷ γένει πρόσσεστιν, οὐκ ἐμοί.

Καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. Ἐγὼ λοιδο- 123
ρίαν κατηγορίας τούτῳ διαφέρειν ἡγοῦμαι, τῷ τὴν μὲν
κατηγορίαν ἀδικήματ' ἔχειν, ὧν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις εἰσὶν αἱ
τιμωρίαι, τὴν δὲ λοιδορίαν βλασφημίας, ἣς κατὰ τὴν
αὐτῶν φύσιν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς περὶ ἀλλήλων συμβαίνει λέ-
γειν. Οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ τοὺς προγόνους ταυτὶ τὰ δικα-
στήρια ὑπέειλφα, οὐχ ἵνα συλλέξαντες ὑμᾶς εἰς ταῦτα
ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων κακῶν τὰ ἀπόρρητα λέγωμεν ἀλλήλους,
ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐξελέγχωμεν, εἴαν τις ἡδικοκῶς τι τυγχάνῃ τὴν
πόλιν. Ταῦτα τοίνυν εἰδὼς Αἰσχίνης οὐδὲν ἥττον ἐμοῦ 124
παμπεύειν ἀντὶ τοῦ κατηγορεῖν εἴλετο. Οὐ μὲν οὐδ'
ἐνταῦθα ἔλαττον ἔχων δίκαιός ἐστιν ἀπελθεῖν. Ἢδη
δ' ἐπὶ ταῦτα πορεύσομαι, τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσας·
πότερόν σέ τις, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρὸν ἢ ἐμὸν
269 εἶναι φῆ; Ἐμὸν δῆλον ὅτι. Εἰτα οὐ μὲν ἦν παρ'
ἐμοῦ δίκην κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ὑπὲρ τούτων λαβεῖν, εἴπερ
ἡδίκουν, ἐξέλιπες, ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις, ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, ἐν
ταῖς ἄλλαις κρίσεσιν· οὐ δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἀθῶος ἅπασι, τοῖς 125
νόμοις, τῷ χρόνῳ, τῇ προθεσμίᾳ, τῷ κεκρίσθαι περὶ
πάντων πολλάκις πρότερον, τῷ μηδεπώποτε ἐξελεγχθῆ-
ναι μηδὲν ὑμᾶς ἀδικῶν, τῇ πόλει δ' ἢ πλέον ἢ ἔλαττον
ἀνάγκη τῶν γε δημοσίᾳ πεπραγμένων μετεῖναι τῆς
δόξης, ἐνταῦθα ἀπήντηκας; Ὅρα μὴ τούτων μὲν
ἐχθρὸς ἦς, ἐμὸς δὲ προσποιῇ. *Σημειώματα*

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἡ μὲν εὐσεβὴς καὶ δικαία ψήφος 126

- ἅπασι δέδεικται, δεῖ δέ με, ὡς εἴκε, καίπερ οὐ φιλολοΐ-
 δορον ὄντα φύσει, διὰ τὰς ὑπὸ τούτου βλασφημίας
 εἰρημένας, ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ ψευδῶν αὐτὰ τὰναγκαιότατ'
 εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δεῖξαι τίς ὢν καὶ τίνας ῥαδίως
 ὁπῶς ἄρχει τοῦ κακῶς λέγειν, καὶ λόγους τίνας διασύ-
 ρει, αὐτὸς εἰρηκῶς ἂ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἔκμησε τῶν μετρίων
 127 ἀνθρώπων φθέγγασθαι ; — Εἰ γὰρ Αἰακὸς ἢ Ῥαδά-
 μανθὺς ἢ Μίνως ἦν ὁ κατηγορῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ σπερμολό-
 γος, περίτριμμα ἀγορᾶς, ὄλεθρος γραμματεῦς, οὐκ ἂν
 αὐτὸν οἶμαι τοιαῦτ' εἰπεῖν οὐδ' ἂν οὕτως ἐπαχθεὶς λό-
 γους πορίσασθαι, ὥσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ βοῶντα ὃ γῆ
 καὶ ἤλιε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ πύλιν σύ-
 νεσιν καὶ παιδείαν ἐπικαλούμενον, ἢ τὰ καλὰ καὶ
 τὰ αἰσχρὰ διαγιγνώσκειται· ταῦτα γὰρ δῆκουθεν
 128 ἡκούετ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος. Σοὶ δὲ ἀρετῆς, ὃ κάθαρμα, ἢ
 τοῖς σοῖς τίς μετουσία ; Ἡ καλῶν ἢ μὴ τοιούτων τίς
 διάγνωσις ; Πόθεν ἢ πῶς ἀξιωθέντι ; Ποῦ δὲ παι-
 δαίας σοι θέμις μνησθῆναι, ἥς τῶν μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς τετυ-
 χηκότων οὐδ' ἂν εἰς εἴποι περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, 278
 ἀλλὰ κἂν ἑτέρου λέγοντος ἐρυθριάσειεν, τοὺς δ' ἀπο-
 λειφθεῖσι μὲν, ὥσπερ σύ, προσποιουμένοις δ' ὑπ'
 ἀναισθησίας, τὸ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἀλγεῖν ποιεῖν, ὅταν
 λέγωσιν, οὐ τὸ δοκεῖν τοιούτοις εἶναι περίεστιν.
- 129 Οὐκ ἀπορῶν δ' ὅ τι χρὴ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν
 εἰπεῖν, ἀπορῶ τοῦ πρώτου μνησθῶ, πότερ' ὡς ὁ πατήρ
 σου Τρόμης ἐδούλευε παρ' Ἑλπίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τῇ Θησεΐᾳ
 διδάσκοντι γράμματα, χοίνικας παχείας ἔχων καὶ ξύλον,

ἢ ὡς ἡ μήτηρ τοῖς μεθημερινοῖς γάμοις ἐν τῇ κλισίᾳ
 τῇ πρὸς τῇ καλαμέτῃ Ἡρώι χρωμένη τὸν καλὸν ἀν-
 δριάντα καὶ τριταγωνιστὴν ἄκρου ἐξέθρεψέ σε ; Ἀλλὰ
 πάντες ἴσασι ταῦτα, καὶ ἐγὼ μὴ λέγω. Ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ
 τριηραύλης Φορμίων, ὁ Δίωνος τοῦ Φρεαργίου δούλος,
 ἀνέστησεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς καλῆς ἐργασίας ;
 Ἀλλὰ νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὁκνῶ μὴ περὶ σοῦ τὰ
 προσάκουτα λέγων αὐτοὺς οὐ προσήκοντας ἐμαυτῷ δέξω
 προηρῆσθαι λόγους. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔασω, ἀπ' αὐτῶν 130
 δὲ ὧν αὐτὸς βεβίωκεν ἄρξομαι. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὧν ἔτυχεν
 ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος καταρᾶται. Ὅψέ γάρ ποτε —,
 ὁψέ λέγω ; Χθές μὲν οὖν καὶ πρόην ἄμ' Ἀθηναῖος
 καὶ ῥήτωρ γέγονε, καὶ δύο συλλαβὰς προσθεὶς τὸν μὲν
 πατέρα ἀντὶ Τρόμητος ἐποίησεν Ἀτρόμητον, τὴν δὲ
 μητέρα σεμνῶς πάνυ Γλαυκοθέαν, ἣν Ἐμπουσαν ἄπαν-
 τες ἴσασι καλουμένην, ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν
 δηλοῦντι ταύτης τῆς ἐπωνυμίας τυχούσαν· πόθεν γὰρ
 ἄλλοθεν ; Ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτως ἀχάριστος εἰ καὶ ποιηρὸς 131
 φύσει, ὥστ' ἐλεύθερος ἐκ δούλου καὶ πλούσιος ἐκ πτω-
 271 χοῦ διὰ τούτουσιν γεγονὼς οὐχ ὅπως χάριν αὐταῖς ἔχεις,
 ἀλλὰ μισθώσας σαιτὸν κατὰ τούτωνι πολιτεΐῃ. Καὶ
 περὶ ὧν μὲν ἐστὶ τις ἀμφισβήτησις, ὡς ἄρα ὑπὲρ τῆς
 πόλεως εἴρηκεν, ἔασω. ἃ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν φανερώς
 ἀπεδείχθη πράττων, ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω.

Τίς γὰρ ὑμῶν οὐκ οἶδε τὸν ἀποσηφισθέντα Ἀντι- 132
 φῶντα, ὃς ἐπαγγειλόμενος Φιλίππῳ τὰ νεώρια ἐμπρή-
 σειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦλθεν ; ὃν λαβόντες ἐμοῦ νεκρυμμέ-

νον ἐν Πειραιεὶ καὶ καταστήσαντος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν,
 βοῶν ὁ βάσκανος οὗτος καὶ κεκραγώς, ὡς ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ
 δεινὰ ποιῶ τοὺς ἡτυχηκότας τῶν πολιτῶν ὑβρίζων καὶ
 ἐπ' οἰκίας βαδίζων ἄνευ ψηφίσματος, ἀφεθῆναι ἐποίη-
 133 σεν. Καὶ εἰ μὴ ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ' Ἀρείου πάγου τὸ πρᾶγμα
 αἰσθομένη καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἄγνοιαν ἐν οὐ δέοντι συμβε-
 βηκυῖαν ἰδοῦσα ἐπεξήτησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ συλλά-
 βούσα ἐπαινέγαγεν ὡς ὑμᾶς, ἐξήρπαστ' ἂν ὁ τοιοῦτος
 καὶ τὸ δίκην δοῦναι διαδὺς ἐξεπέμπετ' ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ
 σεμνολόγου τουτουί· νῦν δ' ὑμεῖς στρεβλώσαντες αὐτὸν
 134 ἀπεκτείνετε, ὡς ἔδει γε καὶ τούτον. Τοιγαροῦν εἰδυῖα
 ταῦτα ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ' Ἀρείου πάγου τότε τούτῳ πε-
 πραγμένα, χειροτονησάντων αὐτὸν ὑμῶν σύνδικον ὑπὲρ
 τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας ἥσπερ
 πολλὰ προέσθε τῶν κοινῶν, ὡς προείλεσθε κακεῖνην
 καὶ τοῦ πράγματος κυρίαν ἐποιήσατε, τούτον μὲν εὐθὺς
 ἀπήλασεν ὡς προδότην, Ὑπερίδῃ δὲ λέγειν προσέταξεν·
 καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέρουσα τὴν ψῆφον ἔπραξε, καὶ
 135 καὶ οὐδεμία ψῆφος ἠνέχθη τῷ μιᾶρῳ τούτῳ. Καὶ ὅτι
 ταύτ' ἀληθὴ λέγω, κάλει τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

Μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει ὑπὲρ πάντων οὔτε, Καλλίας Σουνιεύς,
 Ζήνων Φλυεύς, Κλέων Φαληρεύς, Δημόνικος Μαραθώνιος, ὅτι τοῦ
 δήμου ποτὲ χειροτονήσαντος Αἰσχίνην σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν
 Δήλῳ εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας συνεδρεύσαντες ἡμεῖς ἐκρίναμεν Ὑπερί-
 δην ἄξιον εἶναι μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως λέγειν, καὶ ἀπεστάλη Ὑπε-
 ρίδης.

Οὐκοῦν ὅτε, τούτου μέλλοντος λέγειν, ἀπήλασεν ἡ

βουλή καὶ προσέταξεν ἑτέρῳ, τότε καὶ προδότην εἶναι καὶ κακόνουν ὑμῖν ἀπέφηεν.

Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο τοιοῦτο πολίτευμα τοῦ νεανίου 136 τούτου, ὁμοίον γε, (οὐ γάρ;) οἷς ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ· ἕτερον δὲ ἀναμνησθεσθε. Ὅτε γὰρ Πύθωνα Φίλιππος ἔπεμψε τὸν Βυζάντιον καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων πάντων συνέπεμψε πρέσβεις, ὥς ἐν αἰσχύνῃ ποιήσω τὴν πόλιν καὶ δείξων ἀδικοῦσαν, τότε ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῷ ῥέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν οὐκ εἶξα αὐδ' ὑπεχώρησα, ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς ἀντεῖπον καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως δίκαια οὐχὶ προὔδωκα, ἀλλ' ἀδικοῦντα Φίλιππον ἐξήλεξα φανερώς οὕτως ὥστε τοὺς ἐκείνου συμμάχους αὐτοὺς ἀνισταμένους ὁμολογεῖν· οὗτος δὲ συνηγωνίζετο καὶ τὰναντία ἐμαρτύρει τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτα ψευδῇ.

Καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχρη ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ πάλιν μετὰ ταύτ' 137 ὕστερον Ἀναξίνῳ τῷ κατασκόπῳ συνιὼν εἰς τὴν Θράσωνος οἰκίαν ἐλήφθη. Καίτοι ὅστις τῷ ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμιων πεμφθέντι μόνος μόνῳ συγῆει καὶ ἐκοινολογεῖτο, οὗτος αὐτὸς ὑπῆρχε τῇ φύσει κατάσκοπος καὶ πολέμιος τῇ πατρίδι. Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῇ λέγω, καλεῖ μοι τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

MARTYRES.

Τελέδημος Κλέωνος, Ὑπερίδης Καλλιάρχου, Νικόμαχος Διοφάντου μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει καὶ ἐπωμόσαντο ἐπὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν, εἰδέναι Αἰσχίνην Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδην συνερχόμενον νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν Θράσωνος οἰκίαν καὶ κοινολογούμενον Ἀναξίνῳ, ὃς ἐκρίθη εἶναι κατάσκοπος παρὰ Φιλίππου. Αὗται ἀπεδόθησαν αἱ μαρτυρίαι ἐπὶ Νικίου, Ἑκατομβαιῶνος τρίτῃ ἱσταμένου.

128 Μυρία τοίνυν ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ παραλεί-
 πω. Καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ἔχει. Πολλὰ ἂν ἐγὼ ἔτι
 τούτων ἔχοιμι δεῖξαι ὧν οὗτος κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρό-
 νους τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετῶν ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπηρεάσαν
 εὐρέθη· ἀλλ' οὐ τίθεται ταῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν εἰς ἀκριβοῦς
 μνήμην οὐδ' ἦν προσήκειν ὀργήν, ἀλλὰ δεδώκατε ἔθει
 τινὶ φαύλῳ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν τῷ βουλομένῳ τὸν λέγοντά
 τι τῶν ὑμῖν συμφερόντων ὑποσκελίζειν καὶ συκοφαντεῖν,
 τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς λαιδορίαῖς ἡδονῆς καὶ χάριτος τὸ τῆς πύ-
 λεως συμφέρον ἀνταλλαττόμενοι· διόπερ ῥᾶόν ἐστι καὶ
 ἀσφαλέστερον αἰετοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετούντα μισθαρνεῖν
 ἢ τὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐλόμενον τάξιν πολιτεύεσθαι.

129 Καὶ τὸ μὲν δὴ πρὸ τοῦ πολεμεῖν φανερώς συναγω-
 νίζεσθαι Φιλίππῳ δεινὸν μὲν, ὦ γῇ καὶ θεοί, — πῶς γὰρ πᾶ-
 σὺ; — κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος· δότε δ' εἰ βούλεσθε, δότε
 αὐτῷ τοῦτο. Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ φανερώς ἤδη τὰ πλοῖα ἐσε-
 σύλητο, Χερρόνησος ἐπορθεῖτο, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπο-
 ρεύεθ' ἄνθρωπος, οὐκέτ' ἐν ἀμφισβητησίμῳ τὰ πράγματα
 ἦν ἀλλ' ἐνεστήκει πόλεμος, ὃ τι μὲν πῶποτ' ἔπραξεν
 ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁ βᾶσκανος οὕτοσι ἰαμβειοφάγος οὐκ ἂν ἔχει
 δεῖξαι, οὐδ' ἔστιν οὔτε μείζον οὔτ' ἑλαττον ψήφισμα
 οὐδὲν Αἰσχίνῃ ὑπὲρ τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει. Εἰ δέ
 φησι, νῦν δειξάτω ἐπὶ τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν
 οὐδέν. Καίτοι δυοῖν αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη θάτερον, ἢ μηδὲν
 τοῖςπραττομένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τότε ἔχοντ' ἐγκαλεῖν μὴ
 γράφειν παρὰ ταῦθ' ἕτερα, ἢ τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συμφέρον
 ζητοῦντα μὴ φέρειν εἰς μέσον τὰ τούτων ἀμείνω.

Ἄρ' οὖν οὐδ' ἔλεγεν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἔγραφεν, ἥνίκα 140
 ἐργάσασθαι τι δέοι κακόν; Οὐ μὲν οὖν ἦν εἰπεῖν
 ἑτέρῳ. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ φέρειν ἡδύναθ', ὡς ἔοι-
 κεν, ἢ πόλις καὶ ποιῶν αὐτος λανθάνειν. ἐν δ' ἐπε-
 χειργάσατο, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοιοῦτον ὁ πᾶσι τοῖς
 προτέροις ἐπέθηκε τέλος· περὶ οὗ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνά-
 λωσε λόγους, τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων τῶν Λοκρῶν διεξιὼν
 δόγματα, ὡς διαστρέψων τάληθές. Τὸ δ' οὐ τοιοῦτάν
 ἔστι· πάθεν; Οὐδέποτε' ἐκνέψῃ σὺ τὰκεῖ πεπραγμένα
 σαυτῷ· οὐχ ὧτω πολλὰ εἰρεῖς.

Καλῶ δ' ἐναντίον ὑμῶν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς 141
 θεοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ πάσας, ὅσοι τὴν χώραν ἔχουσι τὴν
 Ἀττικὴν, καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθειον, ὃς πατρῷός
 ἐστι τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐπεύχομαι πᾶσι τούτοις, εἰ μὲν
 ἀληθῆ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἶπομι καὶ εἶπον καὶ τέτ' εὐθὺς ἐν
 πρῶτῳ δήμῳ, ὅτε πρῶτον εἶδον τουτονὶ τὸν μαρὸν τού-
 τω τοῦ πράγματος ἀπτόμενον (ἔγνω γάρ, εὐθέως
 ἔγνω), εὐτυχίαν μοι δοῦναι καὶ σωτηρίαν, εἰ δὲ πρὸς
 ἔχθραν ἢ φιλονεικίας ἰδίας ἕνεκ' αἰτίας ἐπάγω τούτῳ
 ψευδῇ, πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνόνητόν με ποιῆσαι.

Τί οὖν ταῦτ' ἐπύραμαι καὶ διετευνάμην σὺν τῷ σφο- 142
 δρῶς; Ὅτι γράμματ' ἔχων ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ κείμενα, ἐξ
 ὧν ταῦτ' ἐπιδείξω σαφῶς, καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰδὼς τὰ πεπραγμέ-
 να μνημονεύοντας, ἐκείνο φοβουῖμαι, μὴ τῶν εἰργασμέ-
 νων αὐτῷ κακῶν ὑποληφθῇ οὗτος ἐλάττων, ὅπερ πρό-
 τερον συνέβη ὅτε τοὺς ταλαιπώρους Φωκέας ἐποίησεν
 ἀπολέσθαι τὰ ψευδῇ δαῦρ' ἀπαγγελίας. Τὸν γὰρ ἐν 143

Ἀμφίσση πόλεμον, δι' ὃν εἰς Ἑλλάτιαν ἦλθε Φίλασπος καὶ δι' ὃν ἤρεθῃ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἡγερών, ὃς ἅπαντ' ἀνέτρεψε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ συγκατασκευάσας καὶ πάντων εἰς ἀνὴρ τῶν μεγίστων αἴτιος κακῶν. Καὶ τότε εὐθύς ἐμοῦ διαμαρτυρομένου καὶ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πόλεμον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσάγεις, Δίσχινη, πόλεμον Ἀμφικτυονικόν, οἱ μὲν ἐκ παρακλήσεως συγκαθήμενοι οὐκ εἶον με λέγειν, οἱ δ' ἐθαύμαζον καὶ κενῆς αἰτίας διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν 144 ἔχθραν ἐπάγειν με ὑπελάμβανον αὐτῇ. Ἦτις δ' ἡ φύσις, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γέγονε τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τίςτος ἕνεκα ταῦτα συνεσκευάσθη καὶ πῶς ἐπράχθη, νῦν ἀκούσατε, ὅπερδὴ τότε ἐκωλύθητε· καὶ γὰρ εὖ πρῶγμα συνετεθὲν ὄψασθε, καὶ μεγάλα ὠφελησέσθε πρὸς ἱστορίαν τῶν κοινῶν, καὶ ὅση δεινότης ἦν ἐν τῷ Φιλίππῳ θεάσεσθε.

• 145 Οὐκ ἦν τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμου πέρας οὐδ' ἀπαλλαγὴ Φιλίππῳ, εἰ μὴ Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς ἐχθροὺς ποιή- σετε τῇ πόλει, ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἀθλίως καὶ κακῶς τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων πολεμούντων αὐτῷ ὅμως. ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν ληστῶν μυρία ἔπασχε κακά. Οὔτε γὰρ ἐξήρτο τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας γιγνομένων οὐδέν, 146 οὔτ' εἰσῆρτο ὧν εἰδὲν αὐτῷ· ἦν δὲ οὔτ' ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ τότε κρείττων ὑμῶν, οὔτ' εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐλθεῖν δυνατὸς μήτε Θετταλῶν ἀκολουθούντων μήτε Θηβαίων δυνάτων· συνέβαινε δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ πολέμῳ κρατοῦντι τοὺς ἀποαιουσιδίπποθ' ὑμῶν ἐξοπένεκε στρατηγούς (εἰ γὰρ

ταῦτό γε) αὐτῇ τῇ φύσει τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόν-
 των ἑκατέροις κακοπαθεῖν. Εἰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἰδίας ἐνεκ' ἰσ
 ἔχθρας ἢ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ἢ τοὺς Θηβαίους συμπεῖθαι
 βαδίζων ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, οὐδένα ἡγέετο προσέξειν αὐτῷ τὸν
 κοῦν· ἂν δὲ τὰς ἐκείνων κοινὰς προφάσεις λαβὼν ἡγε-
 μὼν αἰρεθῇ, ῥῆσιν ἡλπιζε τὰ μὲν παρακρούσεσθαι, τὰ δὲ
 παίσειν. Τί οὖν; Ἐπιχειρεῖ, θεάσασθ' ὥς αὐ, πόλε-
 μου ποιῆσαι τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ περὶ τὴν πυλαίαν
 παρασχῇ· εἰς γὰρ ταῦτ' εὐθὺς αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανεν
 αὐτοῖς δεήσεσθαι. Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο ἢ τῶν παρ' αὐ-
 τοῦ πεμπομένων ἱερομνημόνων ἢ τῶν ἐκείνου συμμά-
 χων εἰσηγοῖτό τις, ὑπόψεσθαι τὸ πρῶγμα ἐνόμιζε καὶ
 τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς καὶ πάντας φυλά-
 ξεσθαι, ἂν δ' Ἀθηναῖος ἢ καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν ὑπεκα-
 τίων ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν, εὐπόρως λήσειν· ὅπερ συνέβη. α
 Πῶς οὖν ταῦτ' ἐποίησεν; Μισθοῦνται τοντονί. Οὐδε-
 πὸς δὲ προειδότες, οἶμαι, τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐδὲ φυλάττοντες,
 ὥσπερ εἶωθε τὰ τοιαῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν γίγνεσθαι, προβλη-
 πτι θεῖς Πυλαγόρας οὗτος καὶ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων χειροτονη-
 σάντων αὐτὸν ἀνεῖρήθη.

Ὡς δὲ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα λαβὼν ἀφίκετο εἰς
 τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας, πάντα τὰλλ' ἀφείς καὶ παρεδὼν
 ἐπέραινευ ἐφ' οἷς ἐμισθώθη, καὶ λόγους εὐπροσώπων
 καὶ μύθους, ὅθεν ἡ Κιρραία χώρα καθιερώθη, συνθεῖς
 καὶ διεξεληθὼν, ἀνθρώπους ἀπείρους λόγων καὶ τὸ μέλλον
 οὐ προσρωμένους, τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας, κείθει ψηφίσασθαι
 περιελθεῖν τὴν χώραν, ἣν οἱ μὲν Ἀμφισσειν σφῶν· 150

αὐτῶν οὖσαν γεωργεῖν ἔφασαν, οὗτος δὲ τῆς ἱερᾶς χώρας ἤτιᾱτο εἶναι, οὐδεμίαν δίκην τῶν Λοκρῶν ἐπαγόντασιν ἡμῖν, οὐδ' ἂν νῦν οὗτος προφασίζεται, λέγων οὐκ ἀληθῆ. Γνώσεσθε δ' ἐκείθεν. Οὐκ ἐνῆν ἄνευ τοῦ προσκαλέσασθαι δῆπον τοῖς Λοκροῖς δίκην κατὰ τῆς πόλεως τελέσασθαι. Τίς οὖν ἐκλήτευσεν ἡμᾶς; Ἐπὶ ποίας ἀρχῆς; Εἶπε τὸν εἰδότα, δείξον. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις, ἀλλὰ κενῇ προφάσει ταύτη κατεχρῶ καὶ ψευδεῖ.

151 Περιμόντων τοίνυν τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων κατὰ τὴν ὑφ' ἡγήσιν τὴν τούτου, προσπεσόντες οἱ Λοκροὶ μικροῦ κατηκόντισαν ἅπαντας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ συνήρπασαν τῶν ἱερομνημόνων. Ὡς δ' ἄπαξ ἐκ τούτων ἐγκλήματα καὶ πόλεμος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐταράχθη, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὁ Κόττυφος αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἤγαγε στρατιάν· ὥς δ' οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον, οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες οὐδὲν ἐποιοῦν, εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν πυλαίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον εὐθέως ἡγεμόνα ἦγον οἱ κατεσκευασμένοι καὶ πάλαι πονηροὶ τῶν Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν.

152 Καὶ προφάσεις εὐλόγους εἰλήφεσαν· ἡ γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰσφέρειν καὶ ξένους τρέφειν ἔφασαν δεῖν καὶ ζημιοῦν πα τοὺς μὴ ταῦτα ποιοῦντας, ἢ ἐκείνον αἰρεῖσθαι. Τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; Ἡρέθη γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ἡγεμών. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθὺς δύναμιν συλλέξας καὶ παρελθὼν ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν Κιρραίαν, ἐρρώσθαι φράσας πολλὰ Κιρραίοις
153 καὶ Λοκροῖς, τὴν Ἐλάτειαν καταλαμβάνει. Εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ μετέγνωσαν εὐθέως ὥς τοῦτ' εἶδον οἱ Θηβαῖοι καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐγένοντο, ὥσπερ χειμάρρους ἂν ἅπαν τρύτο

τὸ πρῶγμα εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέπεσεν· νῦν δὲ τό γ' ἐξαίφνης ἐπέσχον αὐτὸν ἐκείνοι, μάλιστα μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θεῶν τινὸς εὐνοία πρὸς ὑμᾶς, εἶτα μέντοι, καὶ ὅσον καθ' ἓνα ἄνδρα, καὶ δι' ἐμέ. Δὴς δέ μοι τὰ δόγματα ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ἕκαστα πέπρακται, ὥς εἰδῆτε ἡλίκα πράγματα ἢ μιὰ κεφαλὴ ταράξασα αὕτη δάκην οὐκ ἔδωκεν. Λέγε μοι τὰ δόγ-
ματα.

ΔΟΓΜΑ ΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝ.

Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλεισαγόρου, ἐαρινῆς πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς Πυλαγόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐπιβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν καὶ σπεύρουσι καὶ βοσκήμασι κατανέμουσιν, ἐπελθεῖν τοὺς Πυλαγόρους καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους καὶ στήλαις διαλαβεῖν τοὺς ὅρους, καὶ ἀπειπεῖν τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσι τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν.

ἜΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΟΓΜΑ.

Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλεισαγόρου, ἐαρινῆς πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς Πυλαγόροις 155
279 καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν κατανειμάμενοι γεωργοῦσι καὶ βοσκήματα νέμονται, καὶ κωλυόμενοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις παραγενόμενοι, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνέδριον κεκωλύκασιν μετὰ βίας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τετραυματίκασιν, τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ἡρημένον τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων Κόττυφον τὸν Ἀρκάδα πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς Φίλιππον τὸν Μακεδόνα, καὶ αἰτιοῦν ἵνα βοηθήσῃ τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτυοῦσιν, ὅπως μὴ περιίδῃ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσεβῶν Ἀμφισσέων τὸν θεὸν πλημμελούμενον· καὶ διότι αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα αἰροῦνται οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ μετέχοντες τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων.

Λέγε δὴ καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐγίνετο· εἰς γὰρ καθ' οὓς ἐπυλαγόρησεν οὗτος. Λέγε.

ΧΡΟΝΟΙ.

Ἀρχὼν Μνησιθείδης, μηνὸς Ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἔκτη ἐπὶ δεκάτῃ.

158 Ἀὐτὸς δὴ μὲν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἦν, ὡς αὖχ' ὑπῆκειον εἰ
 Θηβαῖοι, πέμπει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πελοποννήσῃ συμμά-
 χους ὁ Φίλιππος, ἵν' εἰδῆτε καὶ ἐκ ταύτης σαφῶς ὅτι
 τὴν μὲν ἀληθὴ πρόφασιν τῶν πραγμάτων, τὸ ταῦτ' ἐπὶ
 τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ ὑμᾶς πράττειν,
 ἀπεκρύπτετο, κοινὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι δόξαντα
 ποιεῖν προσεποιεῖτο. Ὁ δὲ τὰς ἀφορμὰς ταύτας καὶ
 τὰς προφάσεις αὐτῷ παρασχὼν οὗτος ἦν. Δέγε.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

280

157 Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἐν τῇ συμμα-
 χίᾳ τοῖς δημιουργοῖς καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις
 πᾶσι χαίρειν. Ἐπειδὴ Λοκροὶ οἱ καλούμενοι Ὀζόλαι, κατοικοῦντες
 ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ, πλημμελοῦσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ ἐν
 Δελφοῖς καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν ἐρχόμενοι μεθ' ὀπλῶν λεηλατοῦσι,
 βούλομαι τῷ θεῷ μεθ' ὑμῶν βοηθεῖν καὶ ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς παραβαί-
 νοντάς τι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐσεβῶν. Ὅστε συναντᾶτε μετὰ τῶν
 ὀπλῶν εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα, ἔχοντες ἐπιστιτισμὸν ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα,
 τοῦ ἐνεστώτος μηνὸς Ἀφροῦ, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἄγομεν, ὡς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, Βοη-
 δρομῖωνος, ὡς δὲ Κορίνθιοι, Πανέμου. Τοῖς δὲ μὴ συναντήσασι
 πανδημεὶ χρησόμεθα, τοῖς δὲ συμβούλοις ἡμῖν κειμένοις ἐπιζημίους.
 Εὐτυχεῖτε.

158 Ὅραθ' ὅτι φεύγει μὲν τὰς ἰδίας προφάσεις, εἰς δὲ
 τὰς Ἀμφικτυονικὰς καταφεύγει. Τίς οὖν ὁ ταῦτα
 συμπαρασκευάσας αὐτῷ; Τίς ὁ τὰς προφάσεις ταύτας
 ἐνδούς; Τίς ὁ τῶν κακῶν τῶν γεγενημένων μάλιστα
 αἴτιος; Οὐχ οὗτος; Μὴ τοίνυν λέγετε, ὦ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, περιμόντες, ὡς ὑφ' ἐνὸς τοιαῦτα πέπονθεν ἡ
 Ἑλλὰς ἀνθρώπου. Οὐχ ὑφ' ἐνός, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πολλῶν
 159 καὶ πονηρῶν τῶν παρ' ἐκάστοις, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί, ὧν εἰς
 οὔτοσί, ὅν, εἰ μηδὲν εὐλαβηθέντα τὰληθὲς εἰπεῖν δέοι,

οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι ἔγωγε κοιτῶν ἀλατῆρσι τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπολωλότων ἀπάντων εἰπεῖν, ἀνθρώπων, τόπων, πόλεων· ὁ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα παρασχών, οὗτος τῶν φύντων αἴτιος. Ὅν ὅπως ποτὲ οὐκ εὐθὺς ἰδόντες ἀπεστρά- 281 φητε, θαυμάζω· πλὴν πολὺ τι σκότος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐστὶ παρ' ὑμῖν πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας.

Συμβέβηκε τοίνυν μοι τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τούτης 100 πεπραγμένων ἀφαιμένῳ εἰς ἃ τοῦτοις ἀναντιώμενος αὐτὸς πεπολίτευμαι ἀφίχθαι· ἃ πολλῶν μὲν ἕνεκ' ἂν εἰκότως ἀκούσαιτέ μου, μάλιστα δ' ὅτι αἰσχρὸν ἐστίν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν τὰ ἔργα τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πόνων ὑπέμεινα, ὑμεῖς δὲ μηδὲ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν ἀνέξεσθε. Ὅρων γὰρ ἐγὼ Θηβαίους σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς, 101 ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Φιλίππου φρονούντων καὶ διεφθαρμένων παρ' ἑκατέροις, ὃ μὲν ἦν ἀμφοτέροις φοβερόν καὶ φυλακῆς πολλῆς δεόμενον, τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον εἶναι αὐξάνεσθαι, παρορῶντας καὶ οὐδὲ καθ' ἓν φυλαττομένους, εἰς ἔχθραν δὲ καὶ τὸ προσκρούειν ἀλλήλοις ἐτοίμως ἔχοντας, ὅπως τοῦτο μὴ γένοιτο παρατηρῶν διετέλουν· οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ γνώμης μόνον ταῦτα συμφέρειν ὑπολαμβάνων, 102 ἀλλ' εἰδὼς Ἀριστοφῶντα καὶ πάλιν Εὐβουλον πάντα τὸν χρόνον βουλομένους πρᾶξαι ταύτην τὴν φιλίαν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλάκις ἀντιλέγοντας ἑαυτοῖς τοῦθ' ὁμογνωμονοῦντας αἰεί. Οὗς σὺ ζῶντας μέν, ὧ κίναδος, κολακεύων παρηκολούθεις, τεθνεώτων δ' οὐκ αἰσθάνει κατηγορῶν· ἃ γὰρ περὶ Θηβαίων ἐπιτιμᾶς ἐμοί, ἐκεῖ-

νων πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖς, τῶν πρότερον ἢ ἐγὼ ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν δοκιμασάντων.

- 163 Ἄλλ' ἀκείσε ἐπάνειμι, ὅτι τὸν ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον τοῦτου μὲν ποιήσαντος, συμπεραναμένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συνεργῶν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους ἔχθραν, συνέβη τὸν Φίλιππον ἐλθεῖν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, οὔτερ ἕνεκα τὰς πόλεις οὗτοι συνέκρουον· καὶ εἰ μὴ προεξανέστημεν μικρόν, οὐδ' ἀναλαβεῖν ἂν ἠδυνήθημεν· οὕτω μέχρι πόρρω προήγαγον οὗτοι τὸ πρᾶγμα. Ἐν οἷς δ' ἦτε ἤδη τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τουτωνὶ τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἀκούσαντες καὶ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων εἴσεσθε. Καί μοι λέγε ταῦτα λαβών.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

- 164 Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς Ἐλαφηβολιώνος ἕκτη φθίνοντος, φυλῆς πρωτακτεουσίης Ἐρεχθίδος, βουλῆς καὶ στρατηγῶν γνώμη· Ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ὃς μὲν κατεῖλφε πόλεις τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων, τινὰς δὲ πορθεῖ, κεφαλαίῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν παρασκευάζεται παραγίγνεσθαι, παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγοούμενος τὰς ἡμετέρας συνθήκας, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους λύειν ἐπιβάλλεται καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, παραβαίνων τὰς κοινὰς πίστεις, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις, οὔτινες αὐτῷ διαλέξονται καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν μάλιστα μὲν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμόνοιαν διατρεῖν καὶ τὰς συνθήκας, εἰ δὲ μή, πρὸς τὸ βουλευέσθαι δοῦναι χρόνον τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς ποιήσασθαι μέχρι τοῦ Θαρρηλιώνος μηνός. Ἡιρέθησαν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς Σίμος Ἀναγυράσιος, Εὐθύδημος Φλυάσιος, Βουλαγόρας Ἀλωπεκῆθεν.

ἜΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

- 165 Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς Μουνυχιώνος ἔτη καὶ νέα, πολέμαρχου γνώμη, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος εἰς ἀλλοτριότητα Θηβαίους πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιβάλλεται καταστήσαι, παρεσκεύασται δὲ καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι πρὸς τοὺς ἔγγιστα τῆς Ἀττικῆς παραγίγνεσθαι τόπους, παρα- 283 βαίνων τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῷ συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις, οὔτινες ἀξιῶσιν καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς, ὅπως ἐνδε-

χομένους ὁ δῆμος βουλευέσθαι· καὶ γὰρ νῦν οὐ κέρικε βασιεῶν ὃν οὐδενὶ τῶν μετρίων. Ἠιρέθησαν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς Νέαρχος Σωσινόμου, Πολυκράτης Ἐπίφρονος, καὶ κήρυξ Εὐνομος Ἀναφλύστιος ἐκ τοῦ δήμου.

Λέγε δὴ καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.

199

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣ.

Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. Ἦν μὲν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἶχετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς αἵρεσιν οὐκ ἄγνοῶ, καὶ τίνα σπουδὴν ποιῶσθε προσκαλέσασθαι βουλόμενοι Θετταλάδης καὶ Θηβαίους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Βοιωτοὺς· Βέλτιον δ' αὐτῶν φροονούντων καὶ μὴ βουλομένων ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐαυτῶν αἵρεσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον ἱσταμένων, νῦν ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς ἀποστειλαντες ὑμεῖς πρὸς με πρέσβεις καὶ κήρυκα συνθηκῶν μνημονεύετε καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς αἰτεῖσθε, κατ' οὐδὲν ὑφ' ἡμῶν πεπλημμελημένοι. Ἐγὼ μέντοι ἀκούσας τῶν πρεσβευτῶν συγκατατίθεμαι τοῖς παρακαλουμένοις καὶ ἑτοιμός εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς, ἂν περ τοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς συμβουλευόντας ὑμῖν παραπέψαντες τῆς προσηκούσης ἀτιμίας ἀξιώσῃτε. Ἐρρώσθε.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΙΣ.

Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Θηβαίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. Ἐκομισάμην τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπιστολὴν, δι' ἧς μοι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀνανεοῦσθε. Πυνθάνομαι μέντοι διότι πᾶσαν ἡμῖν Ἀθηναῖοι προσφέρονται φιλοτιμίαν βουλόμενοι ὑμᾶς συγκαταί- 284 νους γενέσθαι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν παρακαλουμένοις. Πρότερον μὲν οὖν ὑμῶν κατεγίνωσκον ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλειν πείθεσθαι ταῖς ἐκείνων ἐλπίσι καὶ ἐπακολουθεῖν αὐτῶν τῇ προαιρέσει· νῦν δ' ἐπιγνοὺς ὑμᾶς τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐζητηκότας ἔχειν εἰρήνην μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἑτέρων ἐπακολουθεῖν γνώμας, ἥσθην καὶ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ κατὰ πολλὰ, μάλιστα δ' ἐπὶ τῷ βουλευσάσθαι περὶ τούτων ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχειν ἐν εὐνοίᾳ· ὅπερ οὐ μικρὰν ὑμῖν οἴσειν ἐλπίζω ῥοπήν, ἐάν περ ἐπὶ ταύτης μένητε τῆς προθέσεως. Ἐρρώσθε.

Οὕτω διαθεῖς ὁ Φίλιππος τὰς πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας διὰ τούτων, καὶ τούτοις ἐπαρθεῖς τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν, ἦκεν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἑλάν- 198 τειαν κατέλαβεν, ὥς οὐδ' ἂν εἴ τι γένοιτο ἔτι συμπε- 199

σόντων ἂν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων. Ἀλλὰ μὴν τότε συμβάντα ἐν τῇ πόλει θόρυβον ἴστε μὲν ἅπαντες, μικρὰ δ' ἀκούσατε ὁμῶς, αὐτὰ τὰναγκαιότατα.

- 169 Ἐσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἦκε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ὡς τοὺς πρυτάνεις ὡς Ἐλάτεια κατείληπται. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξαναστάντες μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες τοὺς τ' ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξείργον καὶ τὰ γέρρα ἐνεπίμπρασαν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγούς μετεπέμποντο καὶ τὸν σαλπυγκτὴν ἐκάλουν, καὶ θορύβου πλήρης ἦν ἡ πόλις. Τῇ δ' ὕστεραία ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ μὲν πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλὴν ἐκάλουν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὑμεῖς δ' εἰς 168 τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπορεύεσθε, καὶ πρὶν ἐκείνην χρηματίσαι 170 καὶ προβουλευσαι πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω καθῆτο. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς εἰσῆλθεν ἡ βουλή, καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρυτάνεις τὰ προσηγγελμένα ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τὸν ἥκοντα παρήγαγον ἀκείνους εἶπεν, ἡρώτα μὲν ὁ κήρυξ, τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται; Παρήει δ' οὐδεῖς. Πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀνίστατ' οὐδεῖς, ἀπάντων μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν παρόντων, ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων, καλούσης δὲ τῆς πατρίδος τῇ κοινῇ φωνῇ τὸν ἐροῦνθ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας· ἦν γὰρ ὁ κήρυξ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους φωνὴν ἀφίησι, ταύτην κοινὴν τῆς πατρίδος δί- 171 καιὸν ἐστὶν ἡγεῖσθαι. Καίτοι εἰ μὲν τοὺς σωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν βουλομένους παρελθεῖν ἔδει, πάντες ἂν ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀναστάντες ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐβαδίζετε· πάντες γάρ, οἶδ' ὅτι, σωθῆναι αὐτὴν ἠβούλεσθε· εἰ δὲ τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους, οἱ τριακόσιοι· εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἀμφοτέρα

ταῦτα, καὶ εὐνους τῇ πόλει καὶ πλουσίαις, οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιδόσεις ἐπιδόντες· καὶ γὰρ εὐνοία καὶ πλούτῳ τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν. Ἄλλ', ὥς ἔοικεν, 172 ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη οὐ μόνον εὐνοῖαν καὶ πλούσιον ἄνδρα ἐκάλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρηκολούθηκότα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ συλλαλογισμένον ὀρθῶς τίνος ἕνεκα ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ τέ βουλόμενος· ὁ γὰρ μὴ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς μηδ' ἐξητακῶς πόρρωθεν ἐπιμελῶς, οὐτ' εἰ εὐνους ἦν οὐτ' εἰ πλούσιος, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἤμελλεν ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν εἴσεσθαι οὐδ' ὑμῖν ἔξιν συμβουλεύειν.

Ἐφάνην τοίνυν οὗτος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγώ, καὶ 173 παρελθὼν εἶπον εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἃ μου δυοῖν ἕνεκ' ἀκούσατε προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν· ἐνὸς μὲν, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ὅτι μόνος τῶν λεγόντων καὶ πολιτευομένων ἐγὼ τὴν τῆς εὐνοίας τάξιν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς οὐκ ἔλιπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγων καὶ γράφων ἐξηταζόμεν τὰ δέονθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς φοβεροῖς· ἐτέρου δέ, ὅτι μικρὸν ἀναλώσαντες χρόνον πολλῷ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς πάσης πολιτείας ἔσεσθ' ἐμπειρότεροι. †

Εἶπον τοίνυν, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ὡς ὑπαρχόντων Θη- 174 βαίων Φιλίππου λίαν θορυβουμένους ἀγνοεῖν τὰ παρόντα πράγμαθ' ἡγοῦμαι. Εὖ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι, εἰ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐτύγχανεν ἔχον, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν ἠκούομεν ἐν Ἐλατείᾳ ὄντα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὁρίοις. Ὅτι μέντοι ἵν' ἔτοιμα ποιῇται τὰ ἐν Θήβαις ἦκει, σαφῶς ἐπίσταμαι.

176 Ὡς δ' ἔχει, ἔφην, ταῦτα ἀκούσατέ μου. Ἐκκοῦ-
 νος ὅσους ἢ πείσαι χρήμασι Θηβαίων ἢ ἐξα-
 πατήσαι ἐνὴν, ἅπαντας ἡντρέπισταί, τοὺς δ'
 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνθεστηκότας αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἐναντι-
 ουμένους οὐδαμῶς πείσαι δύναται. Τί οὖν
 βούλεται καὶ τίνος ἔνεκα τὴν Ἐλάτειαν κατεί-
 ληφεν; Πλησίον δύναμιν δείξας καὶ παρα-
 στήσας τὰ ὄπλα τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτοῦ φίλους ἐπᾶραι
 καὶ θρασεῖς ποιῆσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐναντιουμένους
 καταπλήξαι, ἵν' ἡ συγχωρήσῃσι φοβηθέντες ἃ
 178 νῦν οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν, ἢ βιασθῶσιν. Εἰ μὲν ταί-
 νυν προαιρησόμεθ' ἡμεῖς, ἔφην, ἐν τῷ παρόντι,
 εἴ τι δύσκολον πέπρακται Θηβαίοις πρὸς ἡμᾶς,
 τούτου μεμνήσθαι καὶ ἀπιστεῖν αὐτοῖς ὥς ἐν τῇ
 τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὐσι μερίδι, πρῶτον μὲν ἃ ἂν εὔ-
 ξαιτο Φίλιππος ποιήσομεν, εἴτα φοβοῦμαι μὴ
 προσδεξαμένων τῶν νῦν ἀνθεστηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ 187
 μιᾷ γνώμῃ πάντων φιλιππισάντων εἰς τὴν Ἀτ-
 τικὴν ἔλθωσιν ἀμφότεροι. Ἦν μέντοι πεισθῆτ'
 ἐμοὶ καὶ πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ φιλονεικεῖν
 περὶ ὧν ἂν λέγω γένησθε, οἶμαι καὶ τὰ δέοντα
 λέγειν δόξειν καὶ τὸν ἐφεστηκότα κίνδυνον τῇ
 πόλει διαλύσειν.

177 Τί οὖν φημι δεῖν; Πρῶτον μὲν τὸν παρόντα
 ἐπανεῖναι φόβον, εἴτα μεταθέσθαι καὶ φοβεῖ-
 σθαι πάντας ὑπὲρ Θηβαίων· πολὺ γὰρ τῶν δει-
 νῶν εἰσὶν ἡμῶν ἐγγυτέρω, καὶ προτέροις αὐτοῖς

ἐσθλὸν ὁ κίνδυνος· ἔπειτ' ἐξελθόντας Ἐλευσί-
 νάδε τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας δεῖξαι πᾶ-
 σιν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὄντας, ἵνα τοῖς
 ἐν Θήβαις φρονούσι τὰ ὑμέτερα ἐξ ἴσου γέ-
 νηται τὸ παρρησιάζεσθαι περὶ τῶν δικαίων.
 ἰδοῦσιν ὅτι, ὥσπερ τοῖς παλοῦσι Φιλίππῳ τὴν
 πατρίδα πάρεσθ' ἢ βοηθήσουσα δύναμις ἐν
 Ἑλατείᾳ, οὕτω τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγω-
 νίζεσθαι βουλομένοις ὑπάρχεθ' ὑμεῖς ἔτοιμοι
 καὶ βοηθήσεται, εἰάν τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴῃ. Μετὰ
 ταῦτα χειροτονήσαι κελεύω δέκα πρέσβεις,
 καὶ ποιῆσαι τούτους κυρίους μετὰ τῶν στρα-
 τηγῶν καὶ τοῦ πότε δεῖ βαδίζειν ἐκεῖσε καὶ τῆς
 ἐξόδου. Ἐπειδὰν δ' ἔλθωσιν οἱ πρέσβεις εἰς
 Θήβας, πῶς χρήσασθαι τῷ πράγματι παραι-
 νῶ; Τούτῳ πάνυ μοι προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν. Μὴ
 δεῖσθαι Θηβαίων μηδὲν (αἰσχρὸς γὰρ ὁ και-
 ρός), ἀλλ' ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι βοηθήσειν, εἰὰν κε-
 λεύωσιν, ὥς ἐκείνων ὄντων ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις,
 ἡμῶν δὲ ἄμεινον ἢ ἑκεῖνοι τὸ μέλλον προορωμέ-
 νων· ἵν' εἰὰν μὲν δέξωνται ταῦτα καὶ πεισθῶσιν
 καὶ ἡμῖν, καὶ ἂν βουλόμεθα ὧμεν διφκημένοι καὶ
 μετὰ προσχήματος ἀξίου τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα
 πράξωμεν, εἰὰν δ' ἄρα μὴ συμβῇ κατατυχεῖν,
 ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἑαυτοῖς ἐγκαλῶσιν, ἅν τι νῦν ἐξα-
 μαρτάνωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν μηδὲ ταπει-
 νὸν ἢ πεπραγμένον.

179 Ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις εἶπεν. κατέβη. Συνεπαυνεσάντων δὲ πάντων καὶ αὐδαῖος εἰσάγωντος ἐμπαικτίον οὐδέν, οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ, οὐδ' ἔγραψα μὲν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δέ, οὐδ' ἐπρέσβευστα μὲν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ Θεβαίους· ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς διὰ πάντων ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς διεξῆλθον, καὶ ἔδωκ' ἐμαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἀπλῶς εἰς τοὺς περισσηγότας τῇ πόλει κινδύνους. Καί μοι φέρε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ τότε γενόμενον. —

180 Καίτοι τίνα βούλει σέ, Διοσχίνη, καὶ τίνα ἐμαυτὸν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν εἶναι θῶ; Βούλει ἐμαυτὸν μὲν, ὅν ἂν σὺ λαιδορούμενος καὶ διασύρῃς καλέσῃς, Βάταλον, σέ δὲ μηδ' ἥρω τὸν τυχόντα, ἀλλὰ τούτων τινὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σπηνῆς, Κρεσφόντην ἢ Κρέαντα ἢ ὅν ἂν ὁ Κωλυτῆς ποτὲ Οἰνόμαον κακὸς κακῶς ὑποκρινόμενος ἐπέτριψας; Τότε τοῖνυν κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ Παιωνικός ἐγὼ Βάταλος Οἰνομάου τοῦ Κοβακίδου σου πλαιῖνος ἄξιός ἂν ἐφάνην τῇ πατρίδι. Σὺ μὲν γε οὐδαμῶς χρησίμος ἦσθα· ἐγὼ δὲ πάντα ὅσα προσῆκε τῷ ἀγαθῷ πολίτῃ ἐπραττον. &c.

Λέγε τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ.

181 Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ναυσικλέους, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Αἰαντίδος; Σκυροφαιώνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς εἶπεν· Ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἔν τε τῇ παρελθούσῃ χρόνῳ 289 παραβαίνων φαίνεται τὰς γεγενημένας αὐτῷ συνθήκας πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ὑπεριδὼν τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλήσι νομιζόμενα εἶναι δίκαια, καὶ πόλεις παραιρεῖται οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων οὕσας δοριαλώτους πεποιήκεν οὐδὲν προαδικηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἔν τε τῇ

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188 Ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Θήβας ἐγένετο πραγμάτων ἀρχὴ καὶ
 κατὰστασις πρώτη, τὰ πρὸ τούτων εἰς ἔχθραν καὶ μῖσος
 καὶ ἀπιστίαν τῶν πόλεων ὑπηγμένων ὑπὸ τούτων.
 Τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν τότε τῇ πόλει περιστάντα κίνδυνον
 παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ νέφος. Ἦν μὲν τοίνυν
 τοῦ δικαίου πολίτου τότε δεῖξαι πᾶσιν, εἴ τι ταύτων
 189 εἶχεν ἄμεινον, μὴ νῦν ἐπιτιμᾶν. Ὁ γὰρ σύμβουλος
 καὶ ὁ συκοφάντης, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἐοικότες, ἐν
 τούτῳ πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν· ὁ μὲν γε πρὸ
 τῶν πραγμάτων γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτὸν
 ὑπεύθυνον τοῖς πεισθεῖσι, τῇ τύχῃ, τοῖς καιροῖς, τῷ
 βουλομένῳ· ὁ δὲ σιγήσας ἡνίκ' ἔδει λέγειν, ἂν τι δύσκο-
 190 λον συμβῇ, τοῦτο βασκαίνει. Ἦν μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ εἶπον,
 ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ γε φροντίζοντος ἀνδρὸς τῆς πόλεως
 καὶ τῶν δικαίων λόγων· ἐγὼ δὲ τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν
 ποιούμεαι ὥστε ἂν νῦν ἔχῃ τις δεῖξαι τι βέλτιον, ἢ ὅπως
 εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐνὶν πλὴν ὧν ἐγὼ προειλόμην, ἀδικεῖν ὁμο-
 λογῶ. Εἰ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὃ τι τις νῦν εἴρακεν, ὃ συνήνεγκεν
 ἂν τότε πραχθέν, τοῦτ' ἐγὼ φημι δεῖν ἐμὲ μὴ λαθεῖν.
 Εἰ δὲ μήτ' ἔστι μήτε ἦν μήτ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι μηδεὶς
 μηδέπω καὶ τήμερον, τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἐχρῆν ποιεῖν ; 292
 Οὐ τῶν φαινομένων καὶ ἐνόντων τὰ κράτιστα ἐλέσθαι ;
 191 Τοῦτο τοίνυν ἐποίησα ἐγώ, τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος,
 Αἰσχίνῃ, τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται, οὐ, τίς αἰτιᾶ-
 σθαι περὶ τῶν παρεληλυθότων, οὐδὲ τίς ἐγγυ-
 ᾶσθαι τὰ μέλλοντ' ἔσεσθαι. Σοῦ δ' ἀφώνου κατ'
 ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καθημένου,

ἐπὶ παριόντων ἔλεγον. Ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐ τότε, ἀλλὰ νῦν δέξου, εἰπὲ τίς ἢ λόγος, ὅντιν' ἔχρην εὑρεῖν, ἢ καιρὸς συμφέρων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ παρελείφθη τῇ πόλει; Τίς δὲ συμμαχία, τίς πράξις, ἐφ' ἣν μᾶλλον ἔδει με ὑγαγεῖν τουτουσί;

Ἀλλὰ μὲν τὸ μὲν παρεληλυθὸς αἰ παρὰ πᾶσιν ¹⁹² ἀφῆται, καὶ οὐδεὶς περὶ τούτου προτίθησιν εὐδαμοῦ βουλήν· τὸ δὲ μέλλον ἢ τὸ παρὸν τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου τάξιν ἀπαιτεῖ. Τότε τοίνυν τὰ μὲν ἤμελλεν, ὡς ἐδόκει, τῶν δεινῶν, τὰ δ' ἤδη παρῆν, ἐν οἷς τὴν προαίρεσίν μου σκόπει τῆς πολιτείας, μὴ τὰ συμβάλλοντα συκοφάντει. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ πέρας ὡς ἂν ὁ δαίμων βουλευθῇ πάντων γέγνηται, ἢ δὲ προαίρεσις αὐτῇ τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου διάνοιαν δηλοῖ. Μὴ δὲ τοῦτο ὡς ἀδίκημα ἐμὸν θῆς, εἰ ¹⁹³ κρατῆσαι συνέβη Φιλίππου τῇ μάχῃ· ἐν γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τὸ τούτου τέλος ἦν, οὐκ ἐν ἐμοί· ἀλλ' ὡς οὐχ ἅπαντα ὅσα ἐνῆν κατ' ἀνθρώπινον λογισμὸν εἰλόμην, καὶ δικαίως ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιμελῶς ἔπραξα καὶ φιλοπόνως ὑπὲρ δύνάμιν, ἢ ὡς οὐ καλὰ καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄξια πράγματα ἐνεστησάμην καὶ ἀναγκαῖα, ταῦτά μοι δείξου, καὶ τότε ἤδη κατηγορεῖ μου. Εἰ δ' ὁ συμβὰς σκηπτὸς [ἢ χει- ¹⁹⁴ μων] μὴ μόνον ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ²⁰³ Ἑλλήνων μείζων γέγονε, τί χρή ποιεῖν; Ὡςπερ ἂν εἴ τις ναύκληρον πάντ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ πράξαντα καὶ πᾶσι κατασκευάσαντα τὸ πλοῖον ἀφ' ὧν ὑπελάμβανε σωθήσεσθαι, εἰτα χειμῶνι χρησάμενον καὶ ποιησάντων αὐτῷ τῶν σκευῶν ἢ καὶ συντριβέντων ὅλως, τῆς ναυαγίας

αὐτιώτο. Ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἐκυβέρνων τὴν ναῦν, φήσας
 ἂν (ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐστρατήγησεν ἐγώ), οὔτε τῆς τύχης
 κύριος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη τῶν πάντων.

196 Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο λογίζου καὶ ὄρα· εἰ μετὰ Θηβαίων
 ἡμῖν ἀγωνιζομένοις οὕτως εἴμαρτο πράξαι, τί χρῆν
 προσδοκᾶν, εἰ μὴδὲ τούτους ἔσχομεν συμμάχους, ἀλλὰ
 Φιλίππῳ προσέθεντο, ὑπὲρ οὗ τὸτ' ἐκείνος πάσαι
 ἀφῆκε φωνάς; καὶ εἰ νῦν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀττι-
 κῆς ὁδὸν τῆς μάχης γενομένης τοσοῦτος κίνδυνος καὶ
 φόβος περιέστη τὴν πόλιν, τί ἂν, εἴ που τῆς χώρας
 ταῦτό τοῦτο πάθος συνέβη, προσδεκῆσαι χρῆν; Ἄρ'
 οἴσθ' ὅτι νῦν μὲν στήναι, συνελθεῖν, ἀναπνεῦσαι,
 πολλὰ μία ἡμέρα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἔδοσαν τῶν εἰς
 σωτηρίαν τῇ πόλει· τότε δ' —, οὐκ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν ἃ γε
 μὴδὲ πείραν ἔδωκε θεῶν τινὸς εὐνοια καὶ τὸ προβαλέσθαι
 τὴν πόλιν ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἧς σὺ κατηγορεῖς.

198 Ἔστι δὲ ταυτὶ πάντα μοι τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς,
 ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ τοὺς περιστηκότας ἔξωθεν καὶ
 ἀκροωμένους, ἐπεὶ πρὸς γε τοῦτον τὸν κατ' ἄπτυστον
 βραχὺς καὶ σαφὴς ἐξήρκει λόγος. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν σοι
 πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα, Αἰσχίνη, μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτ'
 ἐβουλεύεθ' ἢ πόλιν περὶ τούτων, τὸτ' ἔδει προλέγειν.
 Εἰ δὲ μὴ προήδεις, τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας ὑπεύθυνος εἰ τοῖς
 ἄλλοις· ὥστε τί μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ σὺ ταῦτα κατηγορεῖς ἢ 294

197 ἐγὼ σοῦ; Τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀμείνων ἐγὼ σοῦ πολέτης
 γέγονα εἰς αὐτὰ ταῦθ' ἃ λέγω (καὶ σὺ πάῃ περὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων διαλέγομαι), ὅσον ἐγὼ μὲν ἔδωκα ἑμαυτὸν εἰς τὰ

πᾶσι δοκεῖ
 οὐδ' ὑπολο-
 τούτων (οὐ
 χρησίμων οἱ
 παῖτες καὶ
 πεπονηκὼς
 στρατός ἐν
 ἐχθροὶ τῆς
 Ἀθήνης
 ὅσοι τὰ τῶν
 ἀπολαλέναι
 ἑτέρου· καὶ
 τῆς πάλης
 πατρίδι
 τεύη καὶ πᾶ
 δοκούντων
 τι καὶ γέ
 Ὡς περ τὰ
 τὸ σῶμα λά
 Ἐπειδὴ
 λομαί τι καὶ
 καὶ θεῶν, μ
 εὐνοίας δ' ἰ
 τὰ μέλλον
 σὺ προὔλεγε
 καὶ κραγὺς, ὅς
 πύλει τούτ

200 μᾶλλοντος αἰῶνος εἶχε λόγῳ. Νῦν μὲν γε ἀποτυχεῖν
 δοκεῖ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃ πᾶσι κοινόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις,
 ὅταν τῷ θεῷ ταῦτα δοκῇ· τότε δ' ἀξιοῦσα προστάνας
 τῶν ἄλλων, εἴτ' ἀποστάσα τούτου, Φιλίππῃ προδεδο-
 κέναι πάντας ἂν ἔσχευ αἰτίαν. Εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα προσέτε
 ἀκουσί, περὶ ὧν οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὄντιν' οὐχ ὑπέμειναν
 οἱ πρόγονοι, τίς οὐχὶ κατέπτυσεν ἂν σοῦ; Μὴ γὰρ
 201 τῆς πάλεός γε, μηδ' ἐμοῦ. Τίσι δ' ἐφθαλμοῖς πρὸς
 Διὸς ἐωρῶμεν ἂν τοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνθρώπους ἀφο-
 κρουμένους, εἰ τὰ μὲν πράγματ' εἰς ἕπερ κινὴν περιέστη,
 ἡγεμόνων δὲ καὶ κύριος ἡρέθη Φίλιππος ἀπάντων, τὸν δ'
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γεμῆσθαι ταῦτ' ἀγῶνα ἕτεροι χωρὶς ἡμῶν
 ἦσαν πεποιημένοι· καὶ ταῦτα μηδεπώποτε τῆς πάλεως
 ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθε χρόνοις ἀσφάλειαν ἄδοξεν μᾶλλον ἢ
 202 τοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν κίνδυνον ἔρημένῃ. Τίς γὰρ οὐκ
 οἶδεν Ἑλλήνων, τίς δὲ βαρβάρων, ὅτι καὶ παρὰ Θη-
 βαίων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔτι τούτων πρότερον ἰσχυρῶς
 γενομένην Ἀακεδαιμονίαν καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασι-
 λέως μετὰ πολλῆς χάριτος τοῦτ' ἂν ἀσμέως ἐδόθη τῇ
 πόλει, ὃ τι βαύλεται λαβούσῃ καὶ τὰ ἐαυτῆς ἐχούσῃ τὸ
 κελαιόμενον ποιεῖν καὶ εἰν ἕτερον τῶν Ἑλλήνων προε-
 203 στάνας. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἦν ταῦθ', ὥς ἔοικε, τοῖς τότε Ἀθη-
 ναίοις πάτρια οὐδ' ἀνεκτὰ οὐδ' ἔμφυτα, οὐδ' ἡδυνήθη
 πώποτε τὴν πόλιν οὐδεὶς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου πείσαι
 τοῖς ἰσχύουσι μὲν μὴ δίκαια δὲ πράττουσι προσθεμένην
 ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιζομένη περὶ πρωτείας
 καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης κινδυνεύουσα πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα
 διατετέλεκεν.

196 Καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτω σεμνὰ καὶ προσήκοντα τοῖς ὑμετέ- 201
 ροις ᾗθεσιν ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε εἶναι, ὥστε καὶ τῶν
 παρόντων τοὺς ταῦτα πράξαντας μάλιστα ἐπαινεῖτε·
 εἰκότως. Τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαιο τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων
 τῆς ἀρετῆς, ὅτι καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν
 ὑπέμειναν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐμβάντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὸ
 κελευόμενον παῖσαι, τὸν μὲν ταῦτα συμβουλευσάντα
 Θεμιστοκλέα στρατηγὸν ἐλόμενοι, τὸν δ' ὑπακούειν
 ἀπαφηνάμενον τοῖς ἐπιτακτομένοις Κυρσίλου καταλι-
 θήσαντες, οὐ μόνον αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ
 ὑμέτεραι τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ. Οὐ γὰρ ἐξήτουν οἱ τότε 206
 Ἀθηναῖοι οὔτε ῥήματα οὔτε στρατηγὸν δι' ὅτου δουλεύ-
 ουσιν εὐτυχῶς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ζῆν ἤξουσιν εἰ μὴ μετ' ἐλευ-
 θερίας· ἐξέσται τοῦτο ποιεῖν. Ἠγεῖτο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκα-
 στος οὐχὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ μόνον γεγενῆσθαι,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. Διαφέρει δὲ τί; "Οτι ὁ μὲν
 τοῖς γονεῦσι μόνον γεγενῆσθαι νομίζων τὸν τῆς εἰμαρ-
 μένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον περιμένει, ὁ δὲ καὶ
 τῇ πατρίδι ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ταύτην ἐπιδεῖν δουλεύουσιν
 ἀποθνήσκειν ἐθέλησει, καὶ φοβερωτέρας ἡγήσεται τὰς
 ὕβρεις καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας, ἃς ἐν δουλευούσῃ τῇ πόλει
 φέρειν ἀνάγκη, τοῦ θανάτου.

Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτ' ἐπεχείρουν λέγειν, ὡς ἄρα ἐγὼ 208
 παρήγαγον ὑμῶς ἄξια τῶν προγόνων φρονεῖν, οὐκ ἔσθ'
 ὅστις οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐπιτιμήσετέ μοι. Νῦν δ' ἐγὼ μὲν
 ὑμετέρας τὰς τοιαύτας προαιρέσεις ἀποφαίνω, καὶ δεί-
 κνυμι ὅτι καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ τοῦτ' εἶχε τὸ φρόνημα ἡ πόλις,

τῆς μέντοι διακονίας τῆς ἐφ' ἐκάστοις τῶν πεπραγμένων
 207 καὶ ἑμαυτῷ μετεῖναί φημι· οὗτος δὲ τῶν ὅλων κατηγο- 207
 ρῶν, κελεύων ὑμᾶς ἑμοὶ πικρῶς ἔχειν ὡς φόβων καὶ
 κινδύνων αἰτίῃ τῇ πόλει, τῆς μὲν εἰς τὸ παρὸν τιμῆς
 ἐμὲ ἀποστερηῆσαι γλίσχεται, τὰ δ' εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν λοιπὸν
 χρόνον ἐγκώμια ὑμῶν ἀφαιρεῖται. Εἰ γὰρ ὡς οὐ τὰ
 βέλτιστα ἑμοῦ πολιτευσαμένου τουδὶ καταψηφιεῖσθε,
 ἡμαρτηκέναι δόξετε, οὐ τῇ τῆς τύχης ἀγνωμοσύνῃ τὰ
 208 συμβάντα παθεῖν. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως
 ἡμάρτετε, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων
 ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας κίνδυνον ἀράμενοι, μὰ τοὺς
 Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν προγόνων καὶ τοὺς
 ἐν Πλαταιαῖς παραταξαμένους καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι
 ναυμαχήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ καὶ πολλοὺς
 ἐτέρους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασι κειμένους ἀγα-
 θοὺς ἄνδρας, οὓς ἅπαντας ὁμοίως ἢ πόλις τῆς αὐτῆς
 ἀξιώσασα τιμῆς ἔθαψεν, Δίσχίνῃ, οὐχὶ τοὺς κατορθώ-
 σαντας αὐτῶν οὐδὲ τοὺς κρατήσαντας μόνους. Δικαίως
 δὲ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔργον, ἅπασι πέπρακται,
 τῇ τύχῃ δ', ἣν ὁ δαίμων ἔνειμεν ἐκάστοις, ταύτῃ κέ-
 χρηται.

209 Ἐπειτ', ὦ κατάρατε καὶ γραμματοκύφων, σὺ μὲν τῆς
 παρὰ τούτων τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἔμ' ἀποστερηῆσαι
 βουλόμενος, τρόπαια καὶ μάχας καὶ παλαιὰ ἔργα ἔλεγεσ,
 ὧν τίνος προσεδεῖτο ὁ παρὸν ἀγὼν οὕτοσί; Ἐμὲ δέ,
 ὦ τριταγωνιστά, τὸν περὶ τῶν πρωτείων σύμβουλον τῇ
 πόλει παριόντα τὸ τίνος φρόνημα λαβόντ' ἀναβαίνειν

ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ' ἔδει; Τὸ τοῦ τούτων ἀνάξια φρονήτος; Δικαίως μέντ' ἀπέθανον. Ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες 210
 206 Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς διανοίας δεῖ τὰς τε ἰδίας δίκας καὶ τὰς δημοσίας κρίνειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίου συμβόλαια ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων νόμων καὶ ἔργων σκοποῦντας, τὰς δὲ κοινὰς προαιρέσεις εἰς τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἀξιώματα ἀποβλέποντας· καὶ παραλαμβάνειν γε ἅμα τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ συμβόλῳ τὸ φρόνημα τὸ τῆς πόλεως νομίζειν ἕκαστον ὑμῶν δεῖ, ὅταν τὰ δημόσια εἰσάγῃτε κρινούντες, εἴπερ ἄξια ἐκείκων πρῶττειν οἴεσθε χρῆναι.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπεσὼν εἰς τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς προγό- 211
 νοις ὑμῶν, ἔστιν ἃ τῷ ψηφισμάτων παρέβην καὶ τῶν πραχθέντων. Ἐπαυελθεῖν οὖν ὀπόθεν ἐνταῦθ' ἐξέβην βούλομαι. Ὡς γὰρ ἀφικόμεθ' εἰς τὰς Θήβας, καταλαμβάνομεν Φιλίππου καὶ Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων παρόντας πρέσβεις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡμετέρους φίλους ἐν φόβῳ, τοὺς δ' ἐκείνου θρασεῖς. Ὅτι δ' οὐ νῦν ταῦτα λέγω τοῦ συμφέροντος ἕνεκα ἐμαντῶ, λέγε μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν τότε ἐπέμψαμεν εὐθύς οἱ πρέ- — |
 σβεις. Καίτοι τοσαύτῃ γ' ὑπερβολῇ συκοφαντίας 212
 οὗτος κέχρηται, ὥστ' εἰ μὲν τι τῶν δεόντων ἐπράχθη, τὸν καιρὸν, οὐκ ἐμέ φησιν αἴτιον γεγενῆσθαι, τῶν δ' ὡς ἐτέρως συμβάντων ἀπάντων ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην αἰτίαν εἶναι· καὶ ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ σύμβουλος καὶ ρήτωρ ἐγὼ τῶν μὲν ἐκ λόγου καὶ τοῦ βουλευσασθαι πραχθέντων οὐδὲν αὐτῷ συναίτιος εἶναι δοκῶ, τῶν δ' ἐν τοῖς

ὅπλοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀτυχηθέντων μόνος αἴτιος εἶναι. Πῶς ἂν ὠμότερος συκοφάντης γένοιτ' ἢ καταρατότερος ; Λέγε τὴν ἐπιστολήν.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, προεήρουν 209
ἐκείνους προτέρους διὰ τὸ τὴν τῶν συμμάχων τάξιν
ἐκείνους ἔχειν. Καὶ παρελθόντες ἐδημηγόρουν, πολλὰ
μὲν Φίλιππον ἐγκωμιάζοντες, πολλὰ δ' ὑμῶν κατηγο-
ροῦντες, πάνθ' ὅσα πώποτ' ἐναντία ἐπράξατε Θηβαίοις
ἀναμνησκόντες. Τὸ δ' οὖν κεφαλαῖον, ἡξίουں ὧν μὲν
εὖ πεπόνθεσαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου χάριν αὐτοὺς ἀποδοῦναι,
ὧν δ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἡδίκηντο δίκην λαβεῖν, ὅποτέρως βού-
λονται, ἢ διέντας αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἢ συνεμβالόντας εἰς
τὴν Ἀττικὴν. Καὶ ἐδείκνυσαν, ὡς ᾔσονται, ἐκ μὲν ὧν
αὐτοὶ συνεβούλευον τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς βοσκήματα καὶ
ἀνδράποδα καὶ τὰλλ' ἀγαθὰ εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἤξοντα,
ἐκ δὲ ὧν ἡμᾶς ἐρεῖν ἔφασαν τὰ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ διαρπα-
σθησόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου. Καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς
214 τούτοις, εἰς ταῦτα δὲ πάντα συντείνοντ' ἔλεγον. Ἄ δ'
ἡμεῖς πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντείπομεν, τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστα ἐγὼ
μὲν ἀντὶ παντὸς ἂν τιμησαίμην εἰπεῖν τοῦ βίου, ὑμᾶς
δὲ δέδοικα, μὴ παρεληλυθότων τῶν καιρῶν, ὥσπερ ἂν
εἰ κατακλυσμὸν γεγενῆσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων ἡγούμενοι,
μάταιον ὄχλον τοὺς περὶ τούτων λόγους νομίσσητε. ὅ τι
δ' οὖν ἐπέισαμεν ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμῖν ἀπεκρίναντο ἀκούσατε.
Λέγε ταυτὶ λαβών.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ.

215

Μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖσιν ἐβάλλον ὑμᾶς καὶ μετεπέμποντο.
 Ἐξήγτε, ἐβοηθεῖτε (ἵνα τὰν μέσῳ παραλείπω) οὕτως
 οἰκειῶς ὑμᾶς ἐδέχοντο, ὥστ', ἔξω τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν
 20 ἱππέων ὄντων, εἰς τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὸ ἄστυ δέχεσθαι τὴν
 στρατιὰν ἐπὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα.
 Καίτοι τρία ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔδει-
 ξαν ἐγκώμια Θηβαῖοι καθ' ὑμῶν τὰ κώλιστα, ἐν μὲν
 ἀνδρίας, ἕτερον δὲ δικαιοσύνης, τρίτον δὲ σωφροσύνης.
 Καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἀγῶνα μᾶλλον μεθ' ὑμῶν ἢ πρὸς ὑμᾶς
 ἐλόμενοι ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ἀμείνους εἶναι καὶ δικαιοτέρ'
 ἀξιοῦν ὑμᾶς ἔκριναν Φιλίππου· καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ
 παρὰ πᾶσι δ' ἐν πλείστη φυλακῇ, παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας,
 ἐφ' ὑμῶν ποιήσαντες, σωφροσύνης πίστιν περὶ ὑμῶν
 ἔχοντες ἔδειξαν. Ἐν οἷς πᾶσιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ 215
 γ' ὑμᾶς ὀρθῶς ἐφάνησαν ἐγνωκότες. Οὔτε γὰρ εἰς τὴν
 πόλιν εἰσελθόντος τοῦ στρατοπέδου οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν οὐδὲ
 ἀδίκως ὑμῖν ἐνεκάλεσεν· οὕτω σώφρονας παρέσχετε
 ὑμᾶς αὐτούς· δις τε συμπαραταξάμενοι τὴν πρώτην
 μάχην, τὴν τ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὴν χειμερινήν, οὐκ
 ἀμέμπτους μόνον ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμαστοὺς
 ἐδείξατε τῷ κόσμῳ, ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, τῇ προθυμίᾳ.
 Ἐφ' οἷς παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῖν ἐγίνοντο ἔπαινοι,
 παρὰ δ' ὑμῶν θυσίαι καὶ πομπαὶ τοῖς θεοῖς. Καὶ 217
 ἔγωγε ἡδέως ἂν ἐροίμην Αἰσχίνην, ὅτε ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο
 καὶ ζήλου καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ ἐπαίνων ἢ πόλις ἦν μεστή,

πότερον συνέθυε καὶ συνευφραίνεται τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἢ λυπούμενος καὶ στένων καὶ δυσμεναίνων τοῖς κοιναῖς ἀγαθοῖς οἴκοι καθήτα. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ παρὴν καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξητάζετο, πῶς οὐ δεινὰ ποιῶ, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδ' ὅσια, εἰ ὦν ὡς ἀρίστων αὐτὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπαῆσατο μάρτυρας, ταῦθ' ὥς οὐκ ἄριστα νῦν ὑμᾶς ἀξιοὶ ψηφίσασθαι τοὺς ὁμιημοκότας τὰς θεούς; Εἰ δὲ μὴ παρὴν, 301 πῶς οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι πολλάκις ἐστὶ δίκαιος, εἰ ἐφ' οὗ ἔχαιρον οἱ ἄλλοι, ταῦτα ἐλυπεῖτο ὁρῶν; Δέγε δὴ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι.

97

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΘΥΣΙΩΝ.

218 Οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν θυσίαις ἤμεν τότε, Θυβαῖοι δ' ἐν τῷ δὲ ἡμᾶς σεσῶσθαι νομίζειν, καὶ περιεστῆκει τοῖς βοηθείας δεήσεσθαι δοκοῦσιν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπραττον οὗτοι, αὐτοὺς βοηθεῖν ἐτέροις ἐξ ὧν ἐπέισθητ' ἐμοί. Ἀλλὰ μὴν οἷας τότ' ἠφίει φωνὰς ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ ἐν οἷαις ἦν παραχαῖς ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τῶν ἐκείνου μαθήσεσθε, ὧν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἔπεμπεν. Καί μοι λέγε ταύτας λαβὼν, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ἡ ἐμὴ συνέχεια καὶ πλά- νοι καὶ τάλαιπωρία καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ψηφίσματα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, τί ἀπειργάσατο. —

219 Καίτοι πολλοὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γεγονόασι ρήτορες ἔνδοξοι καὶ μεγάλοι πρὸ ἐμοῦ, Καλλίστρατος ἐκεῖνος, Ἀριστοφῶν, Κέφαλος, Θρασύβουλος, ἕτεροι μυρίοι· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδεὶς πώποτε τούτων διὰ παντὸς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς οὐδὲν τῇ πόλει, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν γράφων.

οὐκ ἂν ἐπρέσβευσεν, ὁ δὲ πρεσβεύων οὐκ ἂν ἔγραφεν. Ἐπέλειπε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἐαυτῷ ἅμα μὲν ῥηστονίην, ἅμα δ' εἴ τι γένοιτ', ἀναφοράν. Τί οὖν; — εἴποι τις ἄν, 200 — σὺ τοσοῦτον ὑπερήρας τοὺς ἄλλους ῥώμῃ καὶ τόλμῃ, ὥστε πάντα ποιεῖν αὐτός; Οὐ ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐπεπίσμην μέγαν εἶναι τὸν κατειληφότα κίνδυνον τὴν πόλιν, ὥστ' οὐκ ἔδοκει μοι χώραν οὐδὲ πρόνοιαν οὐδεμίαν τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας διδόναι, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν 202 καὶ φίλον, εἰ μὴδὲν παραλείπων τις ἃ δεῖ πράξειεν. Ἐπε- πείσμην δ' ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ, τυχόν μὲν ἀναισθητῶν, ὅμως δ' ἐπεκείσμην, μήτε γράφοντ' ἂν ἐμοῦ γράψαι βέλτιον μὴδένα, μήτε πρῶττοντα πράξαι, μήτε πρεσβεύοντα πρεσβεύσαι προθυμότερον μὴδὲ δικαιότερον. Διὰ ταῦτα ἐν πάσιν ἑμαυτὸν ἔταπτον. — Δέγε τὰς ἐπιστολάς τὰς τοῦ Φιλίππου.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ.

Εἰς ταῦτα κατέστησε Φίλιππον ἡ ἐμὴ πόλις, 203 Αἰσχίνῃ· ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν ἐκεῖνος ἀφῆκε δι' ἐμέ, πολλοὺς καὶ θρασεῖς τὰ πρὸ τούτων τῇ πόλει ἐπαιρόμενος λόγους. Ἀνθ' ὧν δικαίως ἐστεφανούμην ὑπὸ τούτων, καὶ σὺ παρὼν οὐκ ἀντέλεγες, ὁ δὲ γραψάμενος διώκοντας τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐκ ἔλαβεν. Καί μοι λέγε ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ τότε μὲν ἀποπεφευγότα, ὑπὸ τούτου δ' οὐδὲ γραφάτα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

Ταυτὶ τὰ ψηφίσματ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰς αὐτὰς 204

συλλαβὰς καὶ ταῦτ' ῥήματ' ἔχει ἅπερ πρότερον μὲν
 Ἀριστόνικος, νῦν δὲ Κτησιφῶν γέγραφεν οὔτοσί. Καὶ
 ταῦτ' Αἰσχίνης οὐτ' ἐδίωξεν αὐτὸς οὔτε τῷ γραψαμένῳ
 συγκατηγόρησεν. Καίτοι τότε τὸν Δημομέλη τὸν
 ταῦτα γράφοντα καὶ τὸν Ὑπερίδην, εἴπερ ἀληθὴ μου
 νῦν κατηγορεῖ, μᾶλλον ἂν εἰκότως ἢ τόνδ' ἐδίωκεν.

204 Διὰ τί; Ὅτι τῷ μὲν ἔστ' ἀνευεγκεῖν ἐπ' ἐκείνους καὶ
 τὰς τῶν δικαστηρίων γνώσεις καὶ τὸ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐκεί-
 νων μὴ κατηγορηκέαι ταῦτα γραψάντων ἅπερ οὗτος
 νῦν, καὶ τὸ τοὺς νόμους μηκέτ' εἶναι περὶ τῶν οὕτω 205
 πραχθέντων κατηγορεῖν, καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα· τότε δ' αὐτὸ
 τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἂν ἐκρίνετο ἐφ' αὐτοῦ, πρὶν τι τούτων προ-

206 λαβεῖν. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν, οἶμαι, τότε, ὃ νυνὶ ποιεῖ, ἐκ
 παλαιῶν χρόνων καὶ ψηφισμάτων πολλῶν ἐκλέξαντα,
 ἃ μήτε προῆδαι μηδεὶς μήτ' ἂν ᾤκηται τήμερον ῥηθῆναι,
 διαβάλλειν, καὶ μετενεγκόντα τοὺς χρόνους καὶ προφά-
 σεις ἀντὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν ψευδεῖς μεταθέντα τοῖς πε-

208πραγμένοις, δοκεῖν τι λέγειν. Οὐκ ἦν τότε ταῦτα, ἀλλ'
 ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐγγὺς τῶν ἔργων, ἔτι μεμνημένων
 ὑμῶν καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἕκαστα ἐχόντων,
 πάντες ἐγίγνοντ' ἂν οἱ λόγοι. Διόπερ τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ
 τὰ πράγματ' ἐλέγχους φυγῶν νῦν ἡκει, ῥητόρων ἀγῶνα
 νομίζων, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ οὐχὶ τῶν πεπολιτευμένων
 ἐξέτασιν ποιήσῃς ὑμᾶς, καὶ λόγου κρίσιν, οὐ τοῦ τῇ

πόλει συμφέροντος ἔσεσθαι.

207 Ἔπειτα σοφίζεται, καὶ φησὶ προσήκειν ἥς μὲν οἴκοθεν
 ἡκετ' ἔχοντες δόξης περὶ ἡμῶν ἀμελῆσαι· ὥσπερ δ',

ὅταν οἰόμενοι περιεῖναι χρήματά τῃ λογίζεσθε, ἂν καθαραὶ ὧσιν αἱ ψῆφοι καὶ μηδὲν περιῇ, συγχωρεῖτε, οὕτω καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ λόγου φαινομένοις προσθέσθαι. Θεάσασθε τοίνυν ὡς σαθρὸν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐστὶ φύσει πᾶν ὃ τι ἂν μὴ δικαίως ἢ πεπραγμένον. Ἐκ γὰρ αὐτοῦ 200 τοῦ σοφοῦ τούτου παραδείγματος ὠμολόγηκε νῦν γ' ὑμᾶς ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωσμένους ἐμὲ μὲν λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῆς 304 πατρίδος, αὐτὸν δ' ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου· οὐ γὰρ ἂν μεταπείθειν ὑμᾶς ἐξῆται μὴ τοιαύτης οὔσης τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ὑπολήψεως περὶ ἐκατέρου. Καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ δίκαια 200 λέγει μεταθέσθαι ταύτην τὴν δόξαν ἀξιῶν, ἐγὼ διδάξω ῥαδίως, οὐ τιθεὶς ψήφους (οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων οὗτος λογισμὸς), ἀλλ' ἀναμνησκων ἕκαστα ἐν βραχέσι, λογισταῖς ἅμα καὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὑμῖν χρώμενος.

Ἡ γὰρ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, ἧς οὗτος κατηγορεῖ, ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ Θηβαίου μετὰ Φιλίππου συνεμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν χώραν, ὃ πάντες ᾤοντο, μεθ' ἡμῶν παραταξαμένους ἐκείνον κωλύειν ἐποίησεν· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ 220 τὸν πόλεμον εἶναι, ἑπτακόσια στᾶδια ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τοῖς Βοιωτῶν ὀρίοις γενέσθαι· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τοὺς ληστὰς ἡμᾶς φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας, ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐκ θαλάττης εἶναι πάντα τὸν πόλεμον· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔχειν Φίλιππον, λαβόντα Βυζάντιον, συμπολεμεῖν τοὺς Βυζαντίους μεθ' ἡμῶν πρὸς ἐκείνον. Ἀρά σοι ψήφοις ὅμοιος ὁ τῶν ἔργων 231 λογισμὸς φαίνεται; Ἡ δεῖν ἀντανελεῖν ταῦτα, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μνημονευθήσεται σκέψα-

σθαι ; Καὶ οὐκέτι προστίθῃμι, ὅτι τῆς μὲν ὀμότητος, ἦν ἐν οἷς καθύπαξ τινῶν κύριος κατέστη Φίλιππος ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἐτέροις πειραθῆναι συνέβη, τῆς δὲ φιλανθρωπίας, ἦν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκεῖνος περιβαλλόμενος ἐπλάττετο, ὑμεῖς καλῶς ποιοῦντες τοὺς καρποὺς κακόμεσθε. Ἄλλ' ἐὼ ταῦτα.

232 Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ὀκνήσω, ὅτι ὁ τὸν ῥήτορα βουλόμενος δικαίως ἐξετάζειν καὶ μὴ συκοφαντεῖν οὐκ ἂν, οἷα σὺ νῦν ἔλεγες, τοιαῦτα κατηγορεῖ, παραδείγματα 301 πλάττων καὶ ῥήματα καὶ σχήματα μιμούμενος (πάνυ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦτο, — οὐχ ὁρᾷς ; — γέγονε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἰ τουτὶ τὸ ῥῆμα, ἀλλὰ μὴ τουτὶ διελέχθη ἐγώ, ἡ δευρὶ 233 τὴν χεῖρα, ἀλλὰ μὴ δευρὶ παρήνευκα), ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἂν ἐσκόπει τίνας εἶχεν ἀφορμὰς ἢ πόλεις καὶ τίνας δυνάμεις, ὅτ' εἰς τὰ πράγματ' εἰσῆιν, καὶ τίνας σ 3 συνήγαγον αὐτῇ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπιστὰς ἐγώ, καὶ πῶς εἶχε τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων. Εἴτ' εἰ μὲν ἐλάττους ἐποίησα τὰς δυνάμεις, παρ' ἐμοὶ τὰδίκημ' ἂν ἐδείκνυν ὅν, εἰ δὲ πολλῶ μείζους, οὐκ ἂν ἐσυκοφάντει. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ σὺ τοῦτο πέφευγας, ἐγὼ ποιήσω· καὶ σκοπεῖτε εἰ δικαίως χρήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ.

301 Δύναμιν μὲν τοίνυν εἶχεν ἡ πόλις τοὺς νησιώτας, οὐχ ἅπαντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους· οὔτε γὰρ Χίος οὔτε Ῥόδος οὔτε Κέρκυρα μεθ' ἡμῶν ἦν· χρημάτων δὲ σύνταξιν εἰς πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα τάλαντα, καὶ ταῦτ' ἦν προεξειλεγμένα· ὀπλίτην δ' ἡ ἱππέα πλὴν τῶν οἰκείων οὐδένα. Ὁ δὲ πάντων καὶ φοβερώτατον

καὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, οὗτοι παρεσκευάκεισαν
τοὺς περιχώρους πάντας ἔχθρας ἢ φιλίας ἐγγυτέρω,
Μεγαρεῖς, Θηβαίους, Εὐβοέας. Τὰ μὲν τῆς πόλεως 235
οὕτως ὑπῆρχεν ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν ἔχοι παρὰ ταύτ'
εἰπεῖν ἄλλο οὐδέν· τὰ δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου, πρὸς ὃν ἦν
ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγών, σκέψασθε πῶς. Πρῶτον μὲν ἦρχε τῶν
ἀκολουθούντων αὐτὸς αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν, ὃ τῶν εἰς τὸν
πόλεμον μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἀπάντων· εἴθ' οὗτοι τὰ ὅπλα
εἶχον ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αἰεί· ἔπειτα χρημάτων εὐπόρει,
240 καὶ ἔπραττεν ἃ δόξειεν αὐτῷ, οὐ προλέγων ἐν τοῖς
ψηφίσμασιν, οὐδ' ἐν τῷ φανερῷ βουλευόμενος, οὐδ' ὑπὸ
τῶν συκοφαντούντων κρινόμενος, οὐδὲ γραφὰς φεύγων
παρανόμων, οὐδ' ὑπεύθυνος ὢν οὐδενί, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς αὐτὸς
δεσπότης, ἡγεμών, κύριος πάντων. Ἐγὼ δ' ὁ πρὸς 245
τοῦτον ἀντιτεταγμένος, καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐξετάσαι δίκαιον,
τίνος κύριος ἦν; Οὐδενός· Αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ δημηγορεῖν
πρῶτον, οὐ μόνου μετεῖχον ἐγώ, ἐξ ἴσου προϋτίθεθ'
ὑμεῖς τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνου μισθαρνοῦσι καὶ ἐμοί, καὶ ὅσα
οὗτοι περιγένοιοντο ἐμοῦ (πολλὰ δ' ἐγίνετο ταῦτα, δι'
ἦν ἕκαστον τύχοι πρόφασιν), ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν
ἀπῆτε βεβουλευμένοι. Ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐκ τοιούτων ἐλατ- 251
τωμάτων ἐγὼ συμμάχους μὲν ὑμῖν ἐποίησα Εὐβοέας,
Ἀχαιοὺς, Κορινθίους, Θηβαίους, Μεγαρέας, Λευκα-
δίους, Κερκυραίους, ἀφ' ὧν μύριοι μὲν καὶ πεντακισχί-
λιοι ξένοι, δισχίλιοι δ' ἱππεῖς ἄνευ τῶν πολιτικῶν
δυνάμεων συνήχθησαν· χρημάτων δὲ ὅσων ἡδυνήθην
ἐγὼ πλείστην συντέλειαν ἐποίησα.

- 238 Εἰ δὲ λέγεις ἢ τὰ πρὸς Θηβαίους δίκαια, Αἰσχίνη,
 ἢ τὰ πρὸς Βυζαντίους ἢ τὰ πρὸς Εὐβοέας, ἢ περὶ τῶν
 ἴσων νυνὶ διαλέγῃ, πρῶτον μὲν ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι καὶ πρότερον
 τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνων ἀγωνισαμένων τριή-
 ρων, τριακοσίων οὐσῶν τῶν πασῶν, τὰς διακοσίας ἢ
 πόλιν παρέσχετο, καὶ οὐκ ἐλαττοῦσθαι νομίζουσα οὐδὲ
 κρίνουσα τοὺς ταῦτα συμβουλευσάντας οὐδὲ ἀγανα-
 πτοῦσα ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐωρᾶτο, αἰσχρὸν γάρ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς
 θεοῖς ἔχουσα χάριν, εἰ κοινοῦ κινδύνου τοῖς Ἑλλησι
 περιστάντος αὐτὴ διπλάσια τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὴν ἀπάντων
 239 σωτηρίαν παρέσχετο. Εἵτα κενὰς γε χαρίξῃ χάριτας
 τούτοις συκοφαντῶν ἐμέ. Τί γὰρ νῦν λέγεις οἷα ἐχρῆν 301
 πράττειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τότε ὦν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ παρὼν ταῦτ'
 ἔγραφες, εἴπερ ἐνεδέχετο παρὰ τοὺς παρόντας καιροὺς,
 ἐν οἷς οὐχ ὅσα ἡβουλόμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅσα δοίῃ τὰ πράγματ'
 ἔδει δέχεσθαι· ὁ γὰρ ἀντωνούμενος καὶ ταχὺ τοὺς παρ'
 ἡμῶν ἀπελαινόμενους προσδεξόμενος καὶ χρήματα
 προσθήσων ὑπῆρχεν ἔτοιμος.
- 240 Ἄλλ' εἰ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις κατηγορίας ἔχω,
 τί ἂν οἴεσθε, εἰ τότε ἐμοῦ περὶ τούτων ἀκριβολογουμέ-
 νου ἀπῆλθον αἱ πόλεις καὶ προσέθεντο Φιλίππῳ, καὶ
 ἄμα Εὐβοίας καὶ Θηβῶν καὶ Βυζαντίου κύριος κατέστη
 — τί ποιεῖν ἂν ἢ τί λέγειν τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἀνθρώπους
 241 τουτουσί; Οὐχ ὥς ἐξεδόθησαν; Οὐχ ὥς ἀπηλάθη-
 σαν βουλόμενοι μεθ' ἡμῶν εἶναι; Εἵτα τοῦ μὲν Ἑλ-
 λησπόντου διὰ Βυζαντίων ἐγκρατὴς καθέστηκε καὶ τῆς
 σιτοπομπίας τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κύριος, πόλεμος δ'

δρορος καὶ βαρὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν διὰ Θηβαίων κεκό-
 μεσται, ἄπλους δ' ἡ θάλαττα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας
 ὀρμωμένων ληστῶν γέγονεν; Οὐκ ἂν ταῦτ' ἔλεγον
 καὶ πολλὰ γε πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερα; Πονηρόν, ὦ ἄνδρες αἰ
 Ἀθηναῖοι, πονηρόν ὁ συκοφάντης αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχόθεν
 βάσκανον καὶ φιλαίτιον· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ φύσει κίναδος.
 τὰνθρώπιόν ἐστιν, οὐδὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑγιὲς πεποιηκὸς οὐδ'
 ἐλεύθερον, αὐτοτραγικὸς πίθηκος, ἀρουραίος Οἰνόμαος,
 παράσχημος ῥήτωρ. Τί γὰρ ἡ σὴ δεινότης εἰς ὄντην
 ἦκει τῇ πατρίδι; Νῦν ἡμῖν λέγετε περὶ τῶν παρελη-
 λυθότων; Ὡς περ ἂν εἴ τις ἰατρὸς ἀσθενούσι μὲν τοῖς
 κάμνουσιν εἰσιὼν μὴ λέγοι μηδὲ δεικνύοι δὲ ὧν ἀπαφεύ-
 308 ζονται τὴν νόσον, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τελευτήσκει τις αὐτῶν καὶ
 τὰ νομιζόμενα αὐτῷ φέροιτο, ἀκολουθῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μνημα
 διεξίει, εἰ τὸ καὶ τὸ ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπος οὐτε-
 σέ, οὐκ ἂν ἀπέθανεν. Ἐμβρόντητε, εἴτα νῦν λέ-
 γεις;

Οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὴν ἤτταν (εἰ ταύτη γαυριᾶς ἐφ' ἣ κα
 στένειν σε ὡς κατάρατε προσήκει), ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν παρ'
 ἐμοῦ γεγονυῖαν εὐρήσετε τῇ πόλει. Οὕτως δὲ λογι-
 ζεσθε. Οὐδαμῶν πώποθ', ὅποι πρεσβευτῆς ἐπέμφθην
 ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐγώ, ἡττηθεὶς ἀπῆλθον τῶν παρὰ Φιλίππου
 πρέσβεων, οὐκ ἐκ Θετταλίας, οὐκ ἐξ Ἀμβρακίας, οὐκ
 ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν, οὐ παρὰ τῶν Θρακῶν βασιλέων, οὐκ ἐκ
 Βυζαντίου, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν οὐδαμόθεν, οὐ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐκ
 Θηβῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς κρατηθεῖαν οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ τῷ
 λόγῳ, ταῦτα τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπιὼν κατεστρέφετο. Ταῦτ' αἰ

οὐν ἀπαιτεῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνει τὸν αὐτὸν εἰς
 τε μαλακίαν σκώπτων καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου δυνάμεως
 ἀξίων ἓνα ὄντα κρείττω γενέσθαι; Καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς
 λόγοις; Τίνος γὰρ ἄλλου κύριος ἦν ἐγώ; Οὐ γὰρ
 τῆς γε ἐκάστου ψυχῆς, οὐδὲ τῆς τύχης τῶν παραταξα-
 μένων, οὐδὲ τῆς στρατηγίας, ἧς ἔμ' ἀπαιτεῖς εὐθύνας.
 οὕτω σκαιὸς εἰ. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ὧν γ' ἂν ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑπεύ-
 θυνος εἴη πᾶσαν ἐξέτασιν λάμβανε· οὐ παραιτούμαι.
 Τίνα οὖν ἐστὶ ταῦτα; Ἰδεῖν τὰ πράγματα ἀρχόμενα
 καὶ προαισθῆσθαι καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις. Ταῦτα
 πέπρακταί μοι. Καὶ ἔτι τὰς ἐκασταχοῦ βραδυτήτας,
 ὅκνους, ἀγνοίας, φιλονεικίας, ἃ πολιτικὰ ταῖς πόλεσι
 πρόσσεστιν ἀπάσαις καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἀμαρτήματα, ταῦθ' ὥς
 ὡς ἐλάχιστα συστεῖλαι, καὶ τὸνναντίον εἰς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ
 φιλίαν καὶ τοῦ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ὁρμὴν προτρέψαι.
 Καὶ ταῦτά μοι πάντα πεποιήται, καὶ οὐδεὶς μήποθ'
 εὖρη τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ οὐδὲν ἔλλειφθέν.

Εἰ τοίνυν τις ἔροιτο ὄντινούν, τίσι τὰ πλείστα Φί-
 λιππος ὧν κατέπραξε διωκῆσατο, πάντες ἂν εἴποιεν, τῷ
 στρατοπέδῳ καὶ τῷ διδόναι καὶ διαφθείρειν
 τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων. Οὐκοῦν τῶν μὲν δυνά-
 μεων οὔτε κύριος οὐθ' ἡγεμὼν ἦν ἐγώ, ὥστε οὐδ' ὁ
 λόγος τῶν κατὰ ταῦτα πραχθέντων πρὸς ἐμέ. Καὶ
 μὴν τῷ γε μὴ διαφθαρῆναι χρήμασι κεκράτηκα Φιλίπ-
 που· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ὠνούμενος νενίκηκε τὸν λαβόντα,
 εἰάν πρίηται, οὕτως ὁ μὴ λαβὼν μὴδὲ διαφθαρεὶς νενί-
 κηκε τὸν ὠνούμενον. Ὡστε ἀήττητος ἡ πόλις τὸ κατ'
 ἐμέ.

Ἄ μὲν τοίνυν ἐγὼ παρεσχόμην εἰς τὸ δικαίως τοιαῦτα καὶ
 γράφειν τουτονὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ, πρὸς πολλαῖς ἑτέροις ταῦτα
 καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις ἐστίν· ἃ δ' οἱ πάντες ὑμεῖς,
 ταῦτ' ἤδη λέξω. Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν μάχην εὐθύς ὁ δῆμος,
 εἰδὼς καὶ ἑωρακὼς πάντα ὅσα ἔπραττον ἐγώ, ἐν αὐτοῖς
 τοῖς δεινοῖς καὶ φοβεροῖς ἐμβεβηκώς, ἥνικ' οὐδ' ἀγνω-
 μονῆσαι τι θαυμαστὸν ἦν τοὺς πολλοὺς πρὸς ἐμέ, πρῶ-
 τον μὲν περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως τὰς ἐμὰς γνώμας
 ἐχειροτόνει, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τῆς φυλακῆς ἕνεκα ἐπράτ-
 310 τετο, ἢ διάταξις τῶν φυλάκων, αἱ τάφροι, τὰ εἰς τὰ
 τεῖχη χρήματα, διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν ψηφισμάτων ἐγίγνετο·
 ἔπειθ' αἰρούμενος σιτώνην ἐκ πάντων ἐμὲ ἐχειροτόνησεν
 ὁ δῆμος. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συστάντων οἷς ἦν ἐπιμελὲς καὶ
 κακῶς ἐμὲ ποιεῖν, καὶ γραφάς, εὐθύνας, εἰσαγγελίας,
 πάντα ταῦτ' ἐπαγόντων μοι, οὐ δι' ἑαυτῶν τό γε πρῶτον,
 ἀλλὰ δι' ὧν μάλισθ' ὑπελάμβανον ἀγνοήσεσθαι, (ἴστε
 γὰρ δήπου καὶ μέμνησθε ὅτι τοὺς πρώτους χρόνους
 κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐκρινόμην ἐγώ, καὶ οὗτ' ἀπό-
 νοια Σωσικλέους οὔτε συκοφαντία Φιλοκράτους οὔτε
 Διώνδου καὶ Μελάντου μανία οὗτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἀπείρατον
 ἦν τούτοις κατ' ἐμοῦ), ἐν τοίνυν τούτοις πᾶσι μάλιστα
 μὲν διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, δεύτερον δὲ δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
 Ἀθηναίους ἐσωζόμην. Δικαίως· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἀληθές
 ἐστι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁμωμοκότων καὶ γνόντων τὰ εὖαρκα
 δικαστῶν.

Οὐκοῦν ἐν μὲν οἷς εἰσηγγελλόμην, ὅτ' ἀπεψηφίζεσθέ μοι
 καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων τοῖς διώκουσιν οὐ μετε-

δίδοτε, τοτ' ἐψηφίζεσθε τὰ ἄριστα με πράττειν· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς γραφὰς ἀπέφευγον, ἔννομα καὶ γράφειν καὶ λέγειν ἀπεδεικνύμην· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς εὐθύνας ἐπεσημαίνεσθε, δικαίως καὶ ἀδωροδοκῆτως πάντα πεπραχθαί μοι προσωμολογεῖτε. Τούτων οὖν οὕτως ἐχόντων, τί προσῆκεν ἢ τί δίκαιον ἦν τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πεπραγμένοις θέσθαι τὸν Κτησιφῶντα ὄνομα; Οὐχ ὁ τὸν δῆμον ἐώρα τιθέμενον, οὐχ ὁ τοὺς ὁμωμοκότας δικαστάς, οὐχ ὁ τὴν ἀλήθειαν παρὰ πᾶσι βεβαιούσαν;

251 **Ναί, φησιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλόν, τὸ μηδεμίαν γραφὴν φυγεῖν. Καὶ νῆ Δί' εὐδαιμόν γε. Ἄλλα** 311 **τί μᾶλλον ὁ πολλάκις μὲν φυγών, μηδεπώποτε δ' ἐξελεγχθεὶς ἀδικῶν ἐν ἐγκλήματι γίγνοιτ' ἂν διὰ τοῦτο δικαίως; Καίτοι πρὸς γε τοῦτον, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλὸν εἰπεῖν ἔστι μοι· οὐδεμίαν γὰρ πώποτ' ἐγράψατό με οὐδ' ἐδίωξε γραφήν, ὥστε ὑπὸ σοῦ γε ὠμολόγημαι μηδὲν εἶναι τοῦ Κεφάλου χείρων πολίτης.**

252 **Πολλαχόθεν μὲν τοίνυν ἂν τις ἴδοι τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν βασκανίαν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δ' ἀφ' ὧν περὶ τῆς τύχης διελέχθη. Ἐγὼ δ' ὅλως μὲν, ὅστις ἄνθρωπος ὧν ἀνθρώπῳ τύχην προφέρει, ἀνόητον ἡγοῦμαι· ἦν γὰρ ὁ βέλτιστα πράττειν νομίζων καὶ ἀρίστην ἔχειν οἰόμενος, οὐκ οἶδεν εἰ μενεῖ τοιαύτη μέχρι τῆς ἐσπέρας, πῶς χρὴ περὶ ταύτης λέγειν ἢ πῶς ὀνειδίζειν ἑτέρῳ; Ἐπειδὴ δ' οὗτος πρὸς πολλοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ περὶ τούτων ὑπερηφάνως χρήται τῷ λόγῳ, σκέψασθ', ὦ ἄνδρες**

Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεωρήσατε ὅσῳ καὶ ἀληθέστερον καὶ ἀνθρωπινώτερον ἐγὼ περὶ τῆς τύχης τούτου διαλεχθήσομαι. Ἐγὼ τὴν μὲν τῆς πόλεως τύχην ἀγαθὴν ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ ταῦθ' ὁρῶ καὶ τὸν Δία τὸν Δωδωναῖον ἡμῖν καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον μαντευόμενον· τὴν μέντοι τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἣ νῦν ἐπέχει, χαλεπὴν καὶ δεινὴν· τίς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων ἢ τίς βαρβάρων οὐ πολλῶν κακῶν ἐν τῇ παρόντι πεπείραται; Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν προελέσθαι τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τὸ τῶν οἰθηέντων Ἑλλήνων, εἰ προεῖντο ἡμᾶς, ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ διάξειν, τούτων αὐτῶν ἄμεινον πράττειν τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης τῆς πόλεως εἶναι τίθημι· τὸ δὲ προσκροῦσαι καὶ μὴ πάνθ' ὡς ἡβουλόμεθ' ἡμῖν συμβῆναι, τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τύχης τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς μέρος μετεिल्φέναι νομίζω τὴν πόλιν. Τὴν δ' ἰδίαν τύχην τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὴν ἐνὸς ἡμῶν ἐκάστου ἐν τοῖς ἰδίους ἐξετάζειν δίκαιον εἶναι νομίζω. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὕτως περὶ τῆς τύχης ἀξιῶ, ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως, ὡς ἐμαυτῷ δοκῶ, νομίζω δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν· ὁ δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν τύχην τὴν ἐμὴν τῆς κοινῆς τῆς πόλεως κυριωτέραν εἶναί φησι, τὴν μικρὰν καὶ φαύλην τῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ μεγάλης. Καὶ πῶς ἐνι τοῦτο γενέσθαι;

Καὶ μὴν εἴ γε τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην πάντως ἐξετάζειν, Διοσχίνῃ, προαιρεῖ, πρὸς τὴν σαντοῦ σκόπει, κἂν εὐρης τὴν ἐμὴν βελτίῳ τῆς σῆς, παῦσαι λοιδορούμενος αὐτῇ. Σκόπει τοίνυν εὐθύς ἐξ ἀρχῆς. Καί μου πρὸς Διὸς μηδεμίαν ψυχρότητα καταγνῶ μηδεῖς. Ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐτ' εἴ τις πενίαν προπηλακίζει, νοῦν ἔχειν ἡγοῦμαι, οὐτ' εἰ

τις αὖ ἀφ' ὧν τροφοῖς ἐπὶ ταύτῃ σεμνύνεται· ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς τοιαυτῆς τοῦ χαλεποῦ βλασφημίας καὶ συναφαντίας εἰς τοιοῦτους λόγους ἐμπίπτειν ἀναγκάζομαι, οἷς ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι μετρίωτα χρῆσομαι.

- 257 Ἐμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπῆρξεν, Αἰσχίνῃ, παιδὶ μὲν ὄντι φοιτᾶν εἰς τὰ προσήκοντα διδασκαλεῖα, καὶ ἔχειν ὅαν χρὴ τὸν μηδὲν αἰσχροὺς ποιήσεντα δι' εὐδειαν· ἐξελθάνει δὲ ἐκ παίδων ἀκόλουθα τούτοις πράττειν, χρηστῶς, τμηραρχεῖν, εὐσφείρειν, μηδαμῶς φιλοτιμίας μήτε ἰδίας μήτε δημοσίας ἀποκλείεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πάλει καὶ τοῖς φίλοις χρησίμου εἶναι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσελθεῖν ὅδεξέ μοι, τοιαῦτα πολιτεύματα ἐλέσθαι ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων 313 πολλῶν πολλάκις ἐστεφανῶσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡμᾶς ὡς οὐ καλὰ γ' ἦν ἂν προειλόμην ἐπιχειρεῖν λέγειν.
- 258 Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτῃ συμβεβίωκα τύχῃ, καὶ πόλλ' ἂν ἔχον ἕτερόν ποτε περὶ αὐτῆς παραλείπω, φυλαττόμενος τὰ λυπῆσαί τινα ἐν αἷς σεμνύνομαι.

Σὺ δ', ὁ σεμνὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ διαπύων τοὺς ἄλλους, σκόπει πρὸς ταύτην πεία τινὶ κέχρηται τύχῃ· δι' ἣν παῖς μὲν ὢν μετὰ πολλῆς ἐνδείας ἐτράφη, ἅμα τῇ πατρὶ πρὸς τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ προσεδρεύων, τὸ μέλει τρίβων καὶ τὰ βάθρα σπογγίζων καὶ τὸ παιδαγωγεῖν καρῶν, οὐκέτι τάξῃ, οὐκ ἐλευθέρου παιδὸς ἔχων· αὐτὸρ 259 δὲ γενόμενος τῇ μητρὶ τελαύσῃ τὰς βίβλους ἀνεσγίγνωσκει, καὶ τὰλλα σωματικαῖα, τὴν μὲν κύριον μεγάλῃ

καὶ κρηστήρων καὶ κ
 ἀπομάττων τῶ πηλῶ κα
 τοῦ καθαρμοῦ πελεύου
 ἄμεινον, ἐπὶ τῶ μηδ
 σεμνυνόμενος, (καὶ ἔγω
 φθέγγεσθαι μὲν οὕτω
 λαμπρὸν,) ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡρ
 θαιᾶ τῶν ὁδῶν, τοὺς ἐστ
 λυέειν, τοὺς ὄφεις τοὺς
 κεφαλῆς αἰωρῶν, καὶ β
 μενος ὅης ἄττης ἄτ
 νι μὲν καὶ κυστοφόρος κ
 τῶν γραβίων προσαγορ
 των ἐνθρυπτα καὶ στρι
 σὺκ ἂν ὡς ἀληθῶς αὐ
 τόχη;

Ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς τοὺς
 (ὅτι γὰρ τοῦτο), ἐπεὶ
 κάλλιστον ἐξελεξο τά
 ρετέον τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις.
 τούτου, πάνθ' ἃ τῶν
 οὐ κατήσχυνες μὰ Δι
 μετὰ ταῦτα βίῃ, ἀλλ
 νος ἐπικαλούμενοι
 Σακράται, ἐτρεταγασί
 συλλέγων ὥσπερ ὅπου
 ἡλικία ἀμείβαντο ἀπὸ

περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἠγωνίζεσθε· ἦν γὰρ ἄσπευδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος ὑμῖν πρὸς τοὺς θεατὰς πόλεμος, ὑφ' ᾧ πολλὰ τραύματ' εἰληφὼς εἰκότως τοὺς ἀπείρους τῶν τοιούτων ὡς δαιμόνους σκώπτεις. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ παρεῖς ᾧ τὴν πενίαν αἰτιάσαιτ' ἂν τις, πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τοῦ τρόπου σου βαδιοῦμαι κατηγορήματα. Τοιαύτην γὰρ εἶλον πολιτείαν, ἐπειδὴ ποτε καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπῆλθέ σοι ποιῆσαι, δι' ἣν εὐτυχούσης μὲν τῆς πατρίδος λαγὼ βίον ἔζωε, δειδιῶς καὶ τρέμων καὶ ἀεὶ πληγύσσεσθαι προσδοκῶν ἐφ' οἷς σαυτῷ συνήδεις ἀδικοῦντι, ἐν οἷς δ' ἡτύχησαν οἱ ἄλλοι, θρασὺς ᾧ ὑφ' ἀπάντων ὄψαι. Καίτοι ὅστις χιλίων πολιτῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐθάρρῃσε, τί οὗτος παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ζώντων δίκαιός ἐστιν; Πολλὰ τοίνυν ἕτερόν τι εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ παραλείψω· οὐ γὰρ ὅς' ᾧ δεῖξαιμι προσόντ' αἰσχροὶά τούτῳ καὶ ὀνειδή, πάντ' οἶμαι δεῖν εὐχερῶς λέγειν, ἀλλ' ὅσα μηδὲν αἰσχρόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ἐμοί.

Ἐξέτασεν τοίνυν παρ' ἀλλήλα τὰ σοὶ κάμοι βαβιωμένα, πρῶτος καὶ μὴ πικρῶς, Αἰσχίνη· εἰτ' ἐρώτησαν τουτουσί, τὴν ποτέρου τύχην ᾧ ἔλοιθ' ἕκαστος αὐτῶν. Ἐδίδασκες γράμματα, ἐγὼ δ' ἐφοίτων. Ἐτέλεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐτελούμην. Ἐχόρευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐχορήγουν. Ἐγραμμάτευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἠκκλησιάζον. Ἐτριταγωνίστηκες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐθειώρουν. Ἐξέπιπτες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐσύριπτον. Ἐπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πεπολίεσθαι πάντα, ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. Ἐὼ τάλλα, ἀλλὰ νῦν τήμερον ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ σταφαινιθῆναι δακνύμεσθαι, τὸ δὲ μηδ' ὄστρον

ἀδικεῖν ἀνωμολόγημαι, σοὶ δὲ συκοφάντῃ μὲν εἶναι
 δακεῖν ὑπάρχει, κινδυνεύεις δὲ εἴτε δεῖ σ' ἔτι τοῦτο
 ποιεῖν, εἴτ' ἤδη πεπαῦσθαι μὴ μεταλαβόντα τὸ [πέμ-
 πτον] μέρος τῶν ψήφων. Ἀγαθὴ γε (οὐχ ὁρᾷς;) τύχῃ
 συμβεβιωκὸς τῆς ἐμῆς [ὡς φαύλης] κατηγορεῖς.

Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὰς τῶν λειτουργιῶν μαρτυρίας ὧν λε-
 χειτούργηκα ὑμῖν ἀναγνώ· παρ' ἧς παρανάγνωθι καὶ
 σύ μοι τὰς ῥήσεις ἃς ἐλυμήνω,

Ἦκω λιπὼν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας
 καὶ

Κακαγγελεῖν μὲν ἴσθι μὴ θέλοντά με,
 καὶ κακὸν κακῶς σε μάλιστα μὲν οἱ θεοί, ἔπειτα οὗτοι
 πάντες ἀπολέσειαν πονηρὸν ὄντα καὶ πολίτην καὶ τρι-
 ταγωνιστήν.

Λέγε τὰς μαρτυρίας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΙ.

Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τοιοῦτος· ἐν δὲ
 316 τοῖς ἰδίοις εἰ μὴ πάντες ἴστε ὅτι κοινὸς καὶ φιλάνθρω-
 πος καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν, σιωπῶ καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν
 εἴποιμι οὐδὲ παρασχοίμην περὶ τούτων οὐδεμίαν μαρτυ-
 ρίαν, οὔτ' εἰ τινὰς ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλυσάμην, οὔτ' εἰ
 τισι θυγατέρας συνεξέδωκα, οὔτε τῶν τοιούτων οὐδέν.
 Καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ὑπέληφα. Ἐγὼ νομίζω τὸν μὲν
 εὖ παθόντα δεῖν μεμνηθῆναι τὸν πάντα χρόνον, τὸν δὲ
 ποιήσαντα εὐθὺς ἐπιλελῆσθαι, εἰ δὲ τὸν μὲν χρηστοῦ
 τὸν δὲ μὴ μικροψύχου πειεῖν ἔργον ἀνθρώπου. Τὰ δὲ

τὸς ἰδίας εὐεργεσίας ὑπομιμνήσκων καὶ λέγειν μικρὰ
δεῖν ὁμοίαν εἶναι τῷ ἀνειδίξεν. Οὐ δὲ ποιήσω τοιοῦτον
οὐδέν, οὐδὲ προαχθήσομαι, ἀλλ' ὅπως ποθ' ὑπέλημμαι
περὶ τούτων, ἀρκεῖ μοι.

270 Βούλομαι δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπαλλαγεῖς ἔτι μικρὰ πρὸς
ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν κοινῶν. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔχεις,
Αἰσχίνη, τῶν ὑπὸ τούτων τὸν ἥλιον εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώπων
ὅστις ἀθῶος τῆς Φιλίππου πρότερον καὶ νῦν τῆς Ἀλε-
ξάνδρου δυναστείας γέγονεν, ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ τῶν
βαρβάρων, ἔστω, συγχωρῶ σοι τὴν ἐμὴν, εἴτε τύχῃ
εἴτε δυστυχίᾳ ὁκομάζειν βούλῃ, πάντῃ αἰτίαν γεγε-
νη καὶσθαι. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τῶν μηδεπώποτ' ἰδόντων ἐμὲ μηδὲ
φανῆν ἀκηκοότων ἐμοῦ πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεπόν-
θασιν, μὴ μόνον κατ' ἄνδρα ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις ὅλῃ καὶ
ἔθνη, πόσῳ δικαιότερον καὶ ἀληθέστερον τὴν ἀπάντων,
ὥς ἔοικεν, ἀνθρώπων τύχην κοινὴν καὶ φορὰν τινα
πραγμάτων χαλεπὴν καὶ οὐχ οἷαν ἔδει τούτων αἰτίαν
271 ἡγεῖσθαι. Σὺ τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀφείξ ἐμὲ τὸν παρὰ του-
τοις πεπολιτευμένον αἰτίᾳ, καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς ὅτι, καὶ εἰ
μὴ τὸ ὅλον, μέρος γ' ἐπιβάλλει τῆς βλασφημίας ἅπασιν, 272
καὶ μάλιστα σοί. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ κατ' ἐμᾶντὸν αὐτο-
κράτωρ ὦν περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐβουλευόμην, ἦν ἂν
273 τοῖς ἄλλοις ρήτορσιν ὑμῖν ἐμὲ αἰτιᾶσθαι· εἰ δὲ παρήτε
μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀπάσαις αἰεὶ, ἐν κοινῷ δὲ τὸ
συμφέρον ἢ πᾶσι προὔτιθαι σκοπεῖν, πᾶσι δὲ ταῦτ'
ἐδόκει τότ' ἄριστ' εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα σοί, (οὐ γὰρ ἐπ'
εὐνοίᾳ γ' ἐροῖ παρεχόμενος ἐλπίδων καὶ ζῆλον καὶ τιμὴν,

ἅ πάντα προσῆν τοῖς τότε πραττομένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἠττώμενος δηλονότι καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν βέλτιον,) πῶς οὐκ ἀδικεῖς καὶ δεινὰ ποιεῖς τούτοις νῦν ἐγκαλῶν ὧν τότε οὐκ εἶχες λέγειν βελτίω ;

Παρὰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔγωγ' ὁρῶ πᾶσιν πρὸς ἀνθρώποις διωρισμένα καὶ τεταγμένα πως τὰ τοιαῦτα. Ἀδικεῖ τις ἐκῶν· ὀργὴν καὶ τιμωρίαν κατὰ τούτου. Ἐξήμαρτέ τις ἄκων· συγγνώμην ἀντὶ τῆς τιμωρίας τούτου. Οὐτ' ἀδικῶν τις οὐτ' ἐξαμαρτάνων εἰς τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν ἑαυτὸν δούς οὐ κατώρθωσε μεθ' ἀπάντων· οὐκ ὀνειδίζειν οὐδὲ λοιδορεῖσθαι τῷ τοιούτῳ δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ συνάχθεσθαι. Φανήσεται ταῦτα πάντα πρὸς οὕτως οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς νομίμοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ φύσις αὐτῇ τοῖς ἀγράφοις νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ἤθεσι διώρικεν. Δισχίνης τοίνυν τοσοῦτον ὑπερβέβληκεν ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ὁμότητι καὶ συκοφαντίᾳ, ὥστε καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ὡς ἀτυχημάτων ἐμέμνητο, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ.

Καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἀπλῶς καὶ μετ' ἐννοίας πάντας εἰρηκῶς τοὺς λόγους, φυλάττειν ἐμὲ καὶ 218 τηρεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ὅπως μὴ παρακρούσομαι μηδ' ἐξαπατήσω, δεινὸν καὶ γόητα καὶ σοφιστὴν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτ' ὀνομάζων, ὡς, ἐὰν πρότερός τις εἶπῃ τὰ προσόνθ' ἑαυτῷ περὶ ἄλλου, καὶ δὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐκέτι τοὺς ἀκούοντας σκεφομένους τίς ποτ' αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ταῦτα λέγων. Ἐγὼ δ' οἶδ' ὅτι γυγνώσκετε τούτον ἅπαντες, καὶ πολὺ τούτῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμοὶ νομίζετε ταῦτα προσεί-

παι. Κάκεινο δ' εὖ οἶδ', ὅτι τὴν ἐμὴν δεινότητα
 ἄνω γάρ· (καίτοι ἔγωγ' ὀρώ τῆς τῶν λεγόντων δυνά-
 μεως τοῖς ἀκούοντας τὸ πλείεσταν κυρίου· ὥς γὰρ ἂν
 ὑμεῖς ἀποδέξασθε καὶ πρὸς ἑκάστου ἔχητ' εὐνοίας, οὕτως
 ἢ λέγων ἔδοξε φρονεῖν). Εἰ δ' οὖν ἐστὶ καὶ παρ' ἐμοί
 τις ἐμπειρία τοιαύτη, ταύτην μὲν εὐρήσατε πάντες ἐν
 τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐξεταζομένην ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αἰ καὶ οὐδαμῶ
 καθ' ὑμῶν οὐδ' ἰδίᾳ· τὴν δὲ τοῦτου τὸνναντίον, αὐ-
 μόνον τῷ λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις
 ἐλπίησέ τι ταῦτον ἢ προσέμερουσέ που, κατὰ ταῦτα.
 Οὐ γὰρ αὐτῇ δικαίως, οὐδ' ἐφ' ἣ συμφέρει τῇ πόλει,
 παρήται. Οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ὀργὴν εἴτε τὴν ἔχθραν αὐτ'
 ἄλλο οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων τὸν καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν πολέτην
 δεῖ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπεληλυθότας δικαστὰς ἀξιολύ-
 αὐτῷ βεβαιῶν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ταύτων εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐσιάνειν,
 ἀλλὰ μέλλασθαι μὲν μὴ ἔχειν ταῦτ' ἐν τῇ φύσει, εἰ δ'
 ἄρ' ἀνάγκη, πράως καὶ μετρίως διακείμεν' ἔχειν.

Ἐν τίσιν οὖν σφοδρὸν εἶναι τὸν πολιτευόμενον καὶ
 τὸν ῥήτορα δεῖ; Ἐν εἰς τῶν ὄλων τι κινδυνεύεται τῇ
 πόλει, καὶ ὃν αἰς πρὸς ταῖς ἐναντίας ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ, ἐν
 ταῦταις· ταῦτα γὰρ γενναίου καὶ ἀγαθοῦ πολέτου.
 319 Μνηστεύοντος δὲ ἀδικήματος πώποτε δημοσίου, προσθήσῃ δὲ
 μηδ' ἰδίον, δίκην ἀξιώσαντα λαβεῖν παρ' ἐμοῦ μήθ'
 ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως μήθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, στεφάνου καὶ ἐπαί-
 του κατηγορίας ἦκειν συνεσκευασμένον, καὶ τοσούτους
 λόγους ἀνηλεκέειν ἰδίας ἔχθρας καὶ φθόγου καὶ μικρο-
 ψυχίας ἐστὶ σημείον, αὐδακὸς χρηματαῖ. Τὰ δὲ ἐν καὶ

τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ αὐτὸν ἀγῶνας ἐάσαντα νῦν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἤκειν πᾶσαν ἔχει κακίαν. Καί μοι δοκεῖ ἐκ τούτων, 280
 Αἰσχίνη, λόγων ἐπιδείξιν τινα καὶ φωνασκίας βολόμενος ποιήσασθαι τούτου προελέσθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα, οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδενὸς λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν. Ἔστω δ' οὐχ ὁ λόγος τοῦ ῥήτορος, Αἰσχίνη, τίμιον, ἀνδ' ὁ τόμος τῆς φωνῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτα προαιρεῖσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ τὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς μισεῖν καὶ φιλεῖν οὐσπερ ἂν ἡ πατρίς. Ὁ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχων τὴν ψυχὴν, οὗτος ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ πάντ' ἐρεῖ· ὁ δ' ἀφ' ὧν ἡ πόλις προορᾷται τινα κίνδυνον ἑαυτῇ, τούτους θεραπεύων οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁρμῇ τοῖς πολλοῖς, οὐκουν οὐδὲ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει προσδοκίαν. Ἄλλ', ὁρᾷς; Ἐγώ. ταῦτα γὰρ συμφορὸν θ' εἰλόμην τουτοισί, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον οὐδ' ἴδιον πεποιήμαι. Ἀρ' οὖν οὐδὲ σύ; Καὶ πῶς; Ὅτε εἰς 285
 θεῶς μετὰ τὴν μάχην πρεσβευτῆς ἐπορεύων πρὸς Θέλιππον, ὃς ἦν τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις συμφορῶν αἴτιος τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτ', ἀρνούμενος πάντα τοῦ ἔμπροσθε χρόνου ταύτην τὴν χρεῖαν, ὥς πάντες ἴσα-

σιν.
 Καίτοι τίς ὁ τὴν πάλιν ἐξαπατῶν; Οὐχ ὁ μὴ λέγων ἂ φρονεῖ; Τῷ δ' ὁ κήρυξ καταρᾶται δικαίως; Οὐ τῷ τοιούτῳ; Τί δὲ μείζον ἔχει τις ἂν εἰπεῖν ἀδίκημα κατ' ἀνδρὸς ῥήτορος ἢ εἰ μὴ ταῦτα φρονεῖ καὶ λέγει; Σὺ τοίμιν οὗτος εὐρέθης. Εἰτα σὺ φθέγγῃ 290
 καὶ βλέπων εἰς τὰ τούτων πρόσσωπα ταλμῶς; Πάτερ, οὐχ ἡγεῖ γεγηγῶσκειν αὐτοὺς ὅστις εἶ; Ἐπεσώμεθα

ὑπὸν καὶ λήθην ἅπαντας ἔχειν ὥστ' οὐ μεμνήσθαι
 τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐδημηγόρεις ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, καταρώμενος
 καὶ διομνύμενος μηδὲν εἶναι σοὶ καὶ Φιλίππῳ πρᾶγμα,
 ἀλλ' ἐμὲ τὴν αἰτίαν σοι ταύτην ἐπάγειν τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ'
 284 ἔχθρας, οὐκ οὔσαν ἀληθῇ; 'Ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλθη τάχισθ'
 ἡ μάχη, οὐδὲν τούτων φροντίσας εὐθέως ὡμολόγεις καὶ
 προσεποιοῦ φιλίαν καὶ ξενίαν εἶναί σοι πρὸς αὐτόν, τῇ
 μισθαρνίᾳ ταῦτα μετατιθέμενος τὰ ὀνόματα· ἐκ ποίας
 γὰρ ἴσης ἢ δικαίας προφάσεως Αἰσχίνῃ τῷ Γλανκοθεάς
 τῆς τυμπανιστρίας ξένος ἢ φίλος ἢ γνώριμος ἦν Φί-
 λιππος; Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὁρῶ, ἀλλ' ἐμισθώθης ἐπὶ τῷ
 τὰ τουτωνὶ συμφέροντα διαφθείρειν. Ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτω
 φανερώς αὐτὸς εἰλημμένος προδότης καὶ κατὰ σταντοῦ
 μηνυτῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶσι γεγωνὼς ἐμοὶ λοιδορεῖ καὶ
 ὀνειδίζεις ταῦτα, ὧν πάντας μᾶλλον αἰτίους εὐρήσεις.

286 Πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἢ πόλις, Αἰσχίνῃ, καὶ
 προείλετο καὶ κατώρθωσε δι' ἐμοῦ, ὧν οὐκ ἡμνημόνησεν.
 Σημεῖον δέ· χειροτονῶν γὰρ ὁ δῆμος τὸν ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ
 τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ συμβάντα οὐ σὲ ἐχει-
 ροτόνησε προβληθέντα, καίπερ εὐφωνον ὄντα, οὐδὲ Δη-
 μάδην, ἄρτι πεπονηκότα τὴν εἰρήνην, οὐδ' Ἡγήμονα,
 οὐδ' ἄλλον ὕμῳν οὐδένα, ἀλλ' ἐμέ. Καὶ παρελθόντος
 σοῦ καὶ Πυθοκλέους ὡμῶς καὶ ἀναιδῶς, ὃ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, 321
 καὶ κατηγορούντων ἐμοῦ ταῦτ' ἃ καὶ σὺ νυνί, καὶ λοι-
 322 δορουμένων, ἔτ' ἄμεινον ἐχειροτόνησεν ἐμέ. Το δ'
 αἴτιον οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς μὲν, ὅμως δὲ φράσω σοι καὶ γώ.
 'Αμφότερ' ᾗδεσαν αὐτοί, τὴν τ' ἐμὴν εὐνοίαν καὶ προ-

θεμίαν, καθ' ἧς τὰ πράγματα ἔπρατταν, καὶ τὴν ὑμετέ-
 ραν ἀδικίαν· ἃ γὰρ εὐθενούντων τῶν πραγμάτων ἤρκει-
 σθε διομνύμενοι, ταῦτ' ἐν οἷς ἔπαισεν ἡ πόλις ὠμολο-
 γήσατε. Τοὺς οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀτυχήμασιν ὧν
 ἐφρόνουν λαβόντας ἄδειαν ἔχθρους μὲν πάλοι, φανεροὺς
 δὲ τόθ' ἡγήσαντο αὐτοῖς γεγενῆσθαι. Εἵτα καὶ προσή-
 κειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες τὸν ἐροῶντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι
 καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν κοσμήσοντα μήθ' ὁμωρόφιον
 μήθ' ὁμόσπονδον γεγενημένον εἶναι τοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνους
 παραταξαμένοις, μηδ' ἐκεῖ μὲν κωμάζειν καὶ παυνοῖξιν
 ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφοραῖς μετὰ τῶν ἀντοχείρων
 τοῦ φάνου, δεῦρο δ' ἐλθόντα τιμᾶσθαι, μηδὲ τῇ φωνῇ
 δακρύνειν ὑποκρινόμενον τὴν ἐκείνων τύχην, ἀλλὰ τῇ
 ψυχῇ συναλγεῖν. Τοῦτο δ' ἐώρων παρ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ
 παρ' ἐμοί, παρὰ δ' ὑμῖν οὐ. Διὰ ταῦτ' ἐμὲ ἐχειροτό-
 νησαν καὶ οὐχ ὑμᾶς.

Καὶ οὐχ ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὕτως, αἱ δὲ τῶν τετελευτηκό-
 των πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τόθ' αἵρε-
 θέντες ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς ἄλλως πως, ἀλλὰ δέον ποιεῖν
 αὐτοῖς τὸ περιδείπνον ὡς παρ' οἰκειοτάτῃ τῶν τετελευ-
 τηκότων, ὥσπερ τὰλλ' εἶωθε γίγνεσθαι, τοῦτ' ἐποίη-
 σαν παρ' ἐμοί. Εὐκότως· γένει μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστος
 ἐκάστῳ μᾶλλον οἰκείος ἢν ἐμοῦ, κοινῇ δὲ πᾶσιν οὐδεὶς
 ἐγγυτέρω· ὃ γὰρ ἐκείνους σωθῆναι καὶ κατορθῶσαι
 μάλιστα διέφερεν, οὗτος καὶ παθόντων, ἃ μὴ ποτ'
 ὄφελον, τῆς ὑπὲρ πάντων λύπης πλείστον μετείχεον.
 Δέγε δ' αὐτῷ τουτὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὃ δημοσίᾳ προεί-
 πται.

λετο ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράψαι, ἵν' εἰδῆς, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ σαντὸν ἀγνώμονα καὶ συκοφάντην ὄντα καὶ μιᾶρόν. Λέγε.

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

Οἶδε πάτρας ἔνεκα σφετέρας εἰς δῆριν ἔθεντο
 Ὅπλα, καὶ ἀντιπάλων ὕβριν ἀπεσκέδασαν.
 Μαρνάμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δέματος οὐκ ἐσάωσαν
 Ψυχάς, ἀλλ' Ἀἶδην κοινὸν ἔθεντο βράβην,
 Οὐνεκεν Ἑλλήνων, ὥς μὴ ζυγὸν αὐχέει θέντες
 Δουλοσύνης στυγερὰν ἀμφὶς ἔχωσιν ὕβριν.
 Γαῖα δὲ πατρὶς ἔχει κόλποις τῶν πλείστα καμόντων
 Σώματ', ἐπεὶ θνητοῖς ἐκ Διὸς ἦδε κρίσις.
 Μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν
 Ἐν βιοτῇ, μοῖραν δ' οὐ τι φυγεῖν ἔπορευ.

200 Ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ ὥς τὸ μηδὲν
 ἀμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν; οὐ
 τῷ συμβούλῳ τὴν τοῦ κατορθοῦν τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους
 ἀνέθηκε δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς. Τί οὖν, ὦ κατάρατ',
 ἔμοι περὶ τούτων λαιδορεῖ, καὶ λέγεις ἂ σοὶ καὶ τοῖς
 σοῖς οἱ θεοὶ τρέφειαν εἰς κεφαλὴν;

201 Πολλὰ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἄλλα κατηγορηκότος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεφυσμένου, μάλιστα ἐθαύμασα πάντων, ὅτι τῶν συμβεβηκότων τότε τῇ πόλει μνησθεὶς οὐχ ὥς ἂν εὖνους καὶ δίκαιος πολίτης ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, οὐδ' ἐδάκρυσεν, οὐδ' ἔπαθε τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν τῇ ψυχῇ.

πρὸ ἀλλ' ἐπάρσας τὴν φωνήν καὶ γεγηθὼς καὶ
 ᾤετο μὲν ἐμὸν κατηγορεῖν δηλονότι, δαίγμα
 καθ' ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀνιαιροῖς ο
 ἔσχε τοῖς ἄλλοις. Καίτοι τὸν τῶν νόμων
 λιτείας φάσκοντα φροντίζειν, ὥσπερ οὗτος
 μηδὲν ἄλλα, τοῦτό γ' ἔχων δαί, ταῦτα λυ
 ταῦτα χαίρειν τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ μὴ τῇ προ
 κοινῶν ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐναντίων. μέρει τετάχθ
 κινὲ πεπονηκὼς εἰ φανερός, ἐμὲ πάντων α
 ἐμὲ εἰς πράγματα φάσκων ἐμπεσεῖν τὴν πόλ
 τῆς ἐμῆς πολιτείας οὐδὲ προαιρέσεως ἀρξα
 τοῖς Ἑλλήσι βοηθεῖν. Ἐπεὶ ἔμουγ' εἰ τ
 παρ' ὑμῶν, δὲ ἐμὲ ὑμᾶς ἠναντιώσθαι τ
 Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῇ πραττομένη, μείζων ἂν δι
 συμπασῶν ὢν τοῖς ἄλλοις δεδώκατε. Ἀ
 ἐγὼ ταῦτα φήσοιμι, ἀδικοίην γὰρ ἂν ὑμ
 ὑμεῖς εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι συγχωρήσατε· οὗτός
 ἐποίει, οὐκ ἂν ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔχθρας
 τῶν ὑμετέρων καλῶν ἔβλαπτε καὶ διέβαλλε

Ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτ' ἐπιτιμῆ, πολλῶ σ' σχετλ
 κατηγορηκόςτος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεφεισμένου
 ἐμοῦ φιλεππισμόν, ὡ γῇ καὶ θεοί, κατηγο
 οὐκ ἂν εἴποι; Καίτοι, νῆ τὸν Ἡρακλέα
 θεαὸς, εἰ γ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας δέοι σκοπεῖσθαι,
 δεσθαι καὶ δι' ἔχθραν τι λέγειν ἀπελόντα
 τίνες ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰσὶν οἷς ἂν εὐκότως καὶ
 τῶν γεγενημένων αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὴν μεφαι

ὅπαντες, τοὺς ὁμοίους τούτῳ παρ' ἑκάστη τῶν πόλεων
 205 εἶροι τις ἂν, οὐ τοὺς ἐμοί· δι' ὅτ' ἦν ὡσπερ τὰ Φιλέπ-
 που πράγματα καὶ κομιδῇ μικρά, πολλάκις προλεγόν-
 των ἡμῶν καὶ παρακαλούντων καὶ διδασκόντων τὰ
 βέλτιστα, τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' αἰσχροκερδείας τὰ κοινῇ
 συμφέροντα προτεντο, τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας ἕκαστοι πολῖται
 ἑξαπατῶντες καὶ διαφθείροντες, ἕως δούλους ἐποίησαν,
 Θερτυλλοὺς Δαῶχος, Κυνέας, Θρασύλοος· Ἀρκάδας
 Κερκιδᾶς, Ἰερώνυμος, Εὐκαμπίδας· Ἀργεῖους Μύρται,
 Τελέδαμος, Μινασέας· Ἡλείους Εὐρύθεος, Κλεότιμον,
 Ἀρίστανυχμος· Μεσσηνίους οἱ Φιλαῶν τοῦ θεοῦ
 210 ἐχθροῦ παῖδες, Νέων καὶ Θρασύλοχος· Σικανώτους
 Ἀρίστρατος, Ἐπιχάρης· Κορινθίους Δείναρχος, Ἀρ-
 μάρατος· Μεγαρέας Πτοχόδωρος, Ἐλιξος, Περικλαός·
 Θηβαίους Τιμόλας, Θεογεῖων, Ἀνεροῖτας· Εὐβοίαν
 215 Ἰππαρχος, Κλείταρχος, Σωσίστρατος· ἐπιλέγει γὰρ
 λέγοντα ἢ ἡμέρα τὰ τῶν προδόντων ὀνόματα. Οὕτως
 πάντες εἰσὶν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν αὐτῶν βουλαινεμάτων
 ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν πατρίσιν ὥνπερ οὕτως παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνθρω-
 220 ποι μισροὶ καὶ κόλακες καὶ ἀλάστορες, ἡκρωτήρησεν οἱ
 τὰς αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι πατρίδας, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν πρὸς πε-
 πωκότας πρότερον μὲν Φιλέππου, νῦν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου, τῇ
 γαστρὶ μετροῦντες καὶ τοῖς αἰσχρότοις τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν,
 τὴν δ' ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν δεσπότην αὐτῶν,
 225 αἱ τοῖς προτέροις Ἕλλησιν ὄροι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἦσαν καὶ
 κανόνες, ἀνατετραφότες.

230 Τούτης τοίνυν τῆς οὕτως αἰσχρᾶς καὶ παροργιστικᾶς

καὶ συστάσεως καὶ κακίας, μᾶλλον δ', ὡς ἄνθρωποι Ἀθηναῖοι
 προδοσίας, εἰ-δεῖ μὴ ληρεῖν, τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευ-
 θερίας, ἥ τε πόλις παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀνάγκη
 ἦγεγενεν ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν πολιτευμάτων καὶ ὅγῳ παρ' ἡμῖν.
 Πῶς μὲν ὁρατῶς ἀπὸ ποίας ἀρετῆς ἀξίῳ τιμᾶσθαι;
 Ἰδὼν δὲ σοι λέγω, ὅτι τῶν πολιτευομένων παρὰ τοῖς
 Ἕλλησι διαφθαρέντων ἀπάντων, ἀρξαμένων ὅπῃ καὶ
 πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου, πᾶν δ' ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου,
 ἢ οὔτε καιρὸς οὔτε φιλανθρωπία λόγων αὐτ' ἐπαγγε-
 λιδὴν μέγεθος αὐτ' ἐλπίς οὔτε φόβος αὐτ' ἄλλα οὐδὲν
 ἐπῆρεν· εὐδὲ προηγώγετο ὃν ἔκρινε δαναίου καὶ συμφο-
 ρόντων τῇ πατρίδι οὐδὲν προδοῦναι· αὐτὸς ὅσα συμβε-
 βούλευε πάντοτε ταυτοισί, ὁμοίως ἡμῖν, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ
 ταύτῃ ῥέπου ἐπὶ τὸ λῆμμα συμβεβούλευε, ἀλλ' ἀπ'
 ὁρθῆς καὶ δικαίας καὶ ἀδιαφθόρου τῆς ψυχῆς τὰ πάντα
 μοι πέπρακται, καὶ μεγίστων δὲ πραγμάτων τῶν κατ'
 ἑμαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων· προστὰς πάντα ταῦτα ἡγῶν καὶ
 δικαίως πεπολίτευμαι. Διὰ ταῦτ' ἀξίῳ τιμᾶσθαι.

Τὸν δὲ τειχισμὸν τούτου, ὃν σύ μου διέσκιρται, καὶ τὴν
 ταφρείαν ἄξια μὲν χάριτος καὶ ἐπαίνου κρίνω (πῶς γὰρ
 οὐ;) πόρρω μέντοι πού τῶν ἑμαυτῷ πεπολιτευμένων
 τίθεμαι. Οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ πλίνθοις
 ἔγῳ, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μέγιστον τῶν ἑμαυτοῦ φρονῶ·
 ἀλλ' εἰν τὸν ἐμὸν τειχισμὸν βούλη δικαίως σκοπεῖν,
 εὐρήσεις ὄπλα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τόπους καὶ λιμένας καὶ
 ναυτὶ καὶ [πολλοὺς] ἵππους καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυ-
 ναμένους. Ταῦτα πρᾶξιβαλόμην ἄγῳ πρὸ τῆς Ἀσιας, καὶ

ἔσονται ἢ ἀνθρώπων λογισμῷ δυνατόν· καὶ τούτοις ἐπέ-
 χισα τὴν χώραν, οὐχὶ τὸν κύκλον τοῦ Πειραιῶς οὐδὲν
 τοῦ ἄστεως. Οὐδέ γ' ἠττήθην ἐγὼ ταῖς λογισμοῖς Φι-
 λίππου, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, οὐδὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ἀλλ'
 οἱ τῶν συμμάχων στρατηγοὶ καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις τῇ τύχῃ.
 Τίνες αἱ τούτων ἀποδείξεις; Ἐναργεῖς καὶ φανεραὶ
 ἔκαστε δέ.

301. Τί χρεὶν τὸν εὖνουν πολέτην ποιεῖν, τί τὸν μετὰ
 πάσης προνοίας καὶ προθυμίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὑπὲρ
 τῆς πατρίδος πολιτευόμενον; Οὐκ ἐκ μὲν θαλάττης
 τὴν Εὐβοίαν προβαλέσθαι πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐκ δὲ τῆς
 μεσογείας τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πρὸς Πελοπόννησον
 τόπων τοὺς ὁμόρους ταύτη; Οὐ τὴν σιτοπομπίαν, ὅπως
 παρὰ πᾶσαν φιλίαν ἄχρι τοῦ Πειραιῶς κομισθῆσεται,
 302 προιδέσθαι; Καὶ τὰ μὲν σῶσαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων
 ἐκπέμποντα βοηθείας καὶ λέγοντα καὶ γράφοντα τειχί-
 τα, τὴν Προκόννησον, τὴν Χερρόνησον, τὴν Τένεδον, τὰ
 δ' ὅπως οἰκεία καὶ σύμμαχ' ὑπάρξει πράξαι, τὸ Βυζάν-
 τιον, τὴν Ἀβυδον, τὴν Εὐβοίαν; Καὶ τῶν μὲν τοῖς
 ἐχθροῖς ὑπαρχουσῶν δυνάμεων τὰς μεγίστας ἀφελεῖν,
 ὧν δ' ἐνέλειπε τῇ πόλει, ταῦτα προσθῆναι;

303 Ταῦτα τοίνυν ἅπαντα πέπρακται τοῖς ἐμοῖς ψη-
 φίσμασι καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς πολιτεύμασιν, ἃ καὶ βεβουλευ-
 μένα, ὧς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἴαν ἄνευ φθόνου τις βούληται
 σκοπεῖν, ὁρθῶς εὐρήσει καὶ πεπραγμένα πάσῃ δικαιο-
 σύνη, καὶ τὸν ἐκάστου καιρὸν οὐ παραθέμενα οὐδ' ἀνηφα-
 λῶτα οὐδὲ προεθέμενα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ὅσα εἰς ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς

δύνανται καὶ λογισμὸν ἔχειν, οὐδὲν ἐλαφρύνει. Ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ δαίμωνος τινὸς ἢ τύχης ἰσχύς ἢ στρατηγῶν φαυλότης ἢ τῶν προδιδόντων τὰς πύλεις ὑμῶν κακία ἢ πάντα καὶ ταῦτα ἅμα ἐλυμαίνετο τοῖς ἔθνεσι, ὥς ἀνέτρεψε, τί Δημοσθένης ἀδικεῖ; Ἐπὶ δ' οἷος ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῶν κατὰ σοὺν ἑμαυτοῦ τάξην, εἰς ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, μᾶλλον δ' εἰ ἓνα ἄνδρα μόνον Θεσπυαλία καὶ ἓνα ἄνδρα Ἀρκαδία ταῦτά φρονούντα ἔσχεν ἐμοί, οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν ἔξω Πελοῶν Ἑλλήνων οὔτε τῶν εἰσω τοῖς παρούσι κακίαις ἐπὶ χροῖ' ἂν. ἀλλὰ πάντες καὶ ἐν ὄντι ἐλεύθεροι καὶ ἀντάναμοι μετὰ πύσης ἀδείας ἀσφαλῶς ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἔκουν πατρίδας, τῶν τοσούτων καὶ τοσαύτων ἀγαθῶν ὑμῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίοις ὄχοντες χάριν δι' ἐμέ. Ἰσα δ' εἰρήνην ὅτι πολλῶ τοῖς λόγοις ἐλάττωσι χροῖμαι τῶν ἔργων, εὐλαβούμενος τὸν φθόνον, λέγε μοι ταυτὶ καὶ ἀνάγκη λαβάν [τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν βοηθειῶν κατὰ τὰ ἐμὰ ψηφίσματα].

ΔΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΩΝ.

Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα πράττει, Δίαχνης, τὸν καλὸν καὶ καλῶς πολέτην θεῷ, ὃν καταρθουμένῳ μὲν [ἂν γῇ καὶ θεοῖ] μεγίστοις ἀναμφισβητήτως ὑπῆρχεν εἶναι καὶ τὸ δίκαιως προσῆν, ὡς ἐτέρως δὲ συμβαίνουσιν τὸ γοῦν αὐδοκίμειν περίεστι καὶ τὸ μηδὲνα μάμφεσθαι τὴν πόλιν μηδὲ τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ τὴν τύχην κακίαν τὴν οὕτω τὰ πράγματα κρένασαν· οὐ μὰ Δί' ἔτι καὶ

ἀποστάντα τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει, μεθίστασθαι δὲ
αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐναντίοις, τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κειραίνε-
σθαι τῶν τῆς πατρίδος θεραπεύειν· οὐδὲ τὸν μὲν πρᾶ-
γματα ἔξεια τῆς πόλεως ὑπεστάσθαι λόγον καὶ γραφῆν
καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ τούτοις προερχόμενον βασκαίνεσθαι, αὐτὸν δὲ
τις ἰδέα τι λυπήσῃ, τούτο μεμνησθαι καὶ τρεῖν· οὐδέ
ἢ ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἄδικον καὶ ὑπερβολικόν, ὃ αὖ πάλαι
σοι πολλὰς. Ἔστι γάρ, ὅστιν ἡσυχία δικαία καὶ συμφέρει το-
ρυστα τῇ πόλει ἢ οἱ πολλὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ὑμῶν ἀπλῶς
ἔγνω. Ἄλλ' οὐ πάντες εἶναι ἀγαθὰ τὴν ἡσυχίαν, πολ-
λὰ γὰρ καὶ θεοὶ, ἀλλ' ἀποστάντες ὅτις αὐτῷ ἄλλῃ τῆς πολί-
τειας (πολλὰς δὲ δυνεῖ) φυλάσσει σημαίει ὥστε μετὰ
τοῦ συνεχῶς λέγοντος, ἢ παρὰ τῆς εὐχῆς τι συμβέ-
βηκεν ἐναντίωμα, ἢ ἄλλο τι δύσκολον γέγονε (πολλὰ
δὲ τὰνθρώπινα)· ἐπὶ οὖν τούτῳ τῷ κερφῇ ῥήτωρ ἔπει-
φῃς ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας ὅσπερ τιμῇ ἐφάνη καὶ παρὰ
πασκηνῶς καὶ συνεισχεῶς ῥήματα καὶ λόγους συνεῖναι
τούτους σαφῶς καὶ ἀπνευστί, ὄνησιν μὲν οὐδ' αὖ μὲν φέ-
ροντας οὐδ' ἀγαθοῦ κτήσιν οὐδενός, συμφορὰν δὲ τῷ
τυχόντι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ κοινῇ αἰσχύνην. Καίτοι
καὶ ταύτης τῆς μελέτης καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας, Δυσχίης, ἔτι
ἐκ ψυχῆς δικαίας ἐγγίγνεται καὶ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος συμφέ-
ροντα προηρημένως, τοὺς κέρτους εἶναι γυναικίους καὶ
καλοὺς καὶ πᾶσιν ὠφελέμενους εἶναι, συμμάχους πολλοὺς,
πόρους χρημάτων, ἡμπορίαν κατασκευῆς νέμων συμφο-
ρῶν θάλασσαν, τοὺς ἀποδείχθαι ἐχθροῖς ἐκείνους
πάντα.

Πρώτων γὰρ πάντων ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἡρώ-
 τισι, καὶ ἔπειτα ὁ παρελθὼν χρόνος πολλὰς ἀν-
 δρώσας καλὰς τε καὶ κακοὺς ἐν αἷσι οὐδαμοῦ σὺν
 φρεσὶν, οὐ πρῶτος, οὐ δεύτερος, οὐ τρίτος, οὐ τε-
 τάρτος, οὐχ ἄλλος, οὐχ ὁποιοσδήποτε, οὐκ
 γὰρ οἷς ἢ παρὶς ὑψάνετο. Τίς γὰρ συμμα-
 χεύωντας γέγωνε τῇ πόλει; Τίς δὲ βοήθεια
 ποιοῦσάς ἢ δάξας; Τίς δὲ πρεσβεία; Τίς δια-
 φέρων ἢ πάλιν ἐπιμαρτυροῦν γέγωνεν; Τί τῶν οὐ-
 τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ξανῶν, οἷς ἐπέστης, ἐπη-
 δία σέ; Ποῖαι τριάσεις; Ποῖα βέλη; Ποῖα
 ἄσπερα; Τίς ἐπισκευὴ ταχυῶν; Ποῖον ἵππων
 τῶν πάντων σὺ χρήσιμος εἶ; Τίς ἢ τοῖς
 ἢ τοῖς ἀπόροις πολιτικὴ καὶ κοινὴ βοήθεια χ-
 ρατὴ σου; Οὐδαμία. Ἄλλ', ὦ τῶν, εἰ μηδεὶς
 εἴποιά γε καὶ προθυμία; Ποῦ; Πότε; ὅτε
 πάντων ἀδικώτετε, οὐδ' ὅτε ἅπαντες ὅσοι
 ἐφθάσαντο ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐπ-
 καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον Ἀριστόνικος τὸ συνειλεγμένον
 ἐπιτιμίαν ἀργύριον, οὐδὲ τότε οὔτε παρήλθες
 δώσας οὐδέν, οὐκ ἀπαρῶν, — πῶς γάρ; — ὅς
 ῥακέμενος μὲν τῶν Φίλωνος τοῦ κηδεστού καὶ
 πλείονων ἢ πεντεταλάντων, διτάλαντον δ' εἰς
 δωρεὰν παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῶν συμμαχιῶν ἐφ-
 ἔμαρτο τὸν τρισηραρχικὸν νόμον. Ἄλλ', ἵνα μὴ
 λόγου λέγων τοῦ παρόντος ἑμαυτὸν ἐκκρούσῃ,
 ψω ταῦτα. Ἄλλ' ὅτι γ' οὐχὶ δι' ἑνδεκαν οὐκ

ἔκ τούτων ὀφείλου, ἀλλὰ φιλόστοιχον τὸ μηδὲν ἐναντίον
 γινώσκει παρὰ τοῦ τούτοις οἷς ἅπαντα πολυταίη. Ἐν
 τίσιν οὖν σὺ νεανίας καὶ πηλίκος λαμπρός; Ἡμεῖς δὲ
 εἰπὼν κατὰ τούτων τι δόξ, ἐν ταύτοις λαμπροφανεύον-
 τες, μαθηματικῆς, ὑπεκριτικῆς ἄριστος, πραγματικῆς θε-
 οκρατίας.

314 Ἔτα τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν
 μέμνηται. Καὶ καλῶς ποιεῖς. Οὐ μέντοι διακρί-
 νονται, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν πρὸς ταῖς τετελειωμένους
 εὐνοίαν ὑπάρχουσαν προλαμβάνουσα παρ' ἡμῶν, πρὸς ἐπι-
 νοὺς ἐξετάζειν καὶ παραβάλλειν πρὸς τὸν νῦν ζῶντα μετ'
 315 ἡμῶν. Τίς γὰρ οὐκ εἶδε τῶν πάππων ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ζῶσι
 καὶ πᾶσιν ὑπεστί τις ἢ πλείων ἢ ἐλάττω φέρεται, τοὺς
 τεθνηῶτας δὲ αὐτὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὐδαὶς ἔτι μισεῖ. Οὗτως
 οὖν ἔχόντων τούτων τῇ φύσει, πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἡμῶν
 νῦν ἐγὼ κρῖναι καὶ θεωρῶμαι; Μηδαμῶς· οὔτε γὰρ
 δίκαιον οὐτ' ἴσον, Αἰσχίνη, ἀλλὰ πρὸς σὲ καὶ ἄλλον
 εἴ τινα βούλει τῶν πάντων σοι προσηρημένων καὶ ζῶντων.

316 Κἀμῖνο σκόπει· πρότερον κάλλιον καὶ ἥμινον τῇ πόλει
 διὰ τὰς τῶν πρότερον εὐεργεσίας, οὕτως ὑπερμαγέθεις,
 οὐ μὲν νῦν εἴποι τις ἂν ἡλικας, τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος
 βίον γιγνομένης εἰς ἀχαριστίαν καὶ προπηλακισμὸν
 ἄγειν, ἢ πᾶσιν ὅσοι τι μετ' εὐνοίας πράττουσαι, τῆς
 παρὰ τούτων τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας μετεῖναι.

317 Καὶ μὴν εἰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρα δεῖ με εἰπεῖν, ἢ μὲν ἡμῶν
 πολιτεία καὶ προαίρεσις, ἢ τις ὁρῶνς σκοπῇ, ταῖς τῶν
 πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐπαυσιμῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐμεία καὶ τὰ τὰ βλαβερότητα

φανήσεται, ἥ· δὲ σὺ ταῖς τῶν τῶν ταύτων τῶν σαρκοφαντούντων· δηλοῦν γὰρ ἔτι καὶ κατ' ἐπίκουρον ἡρώτινες, οἱ διασύροντες τοὺς ὄντας τότε, τοὺς δὲ πρότερον γεγενημένους ἐπὶ τῶν, βάσιμον πρῶτον καὶ οὐκ οὐκ ποιοῦντες οὐκ. Εἶτα λόγους ὡς οὐδὲν ὁμοίως εἰμι ἀπὸ 318 τοῖς ἐγώ; Σὺ δ' ὁμοίως, Λισχίνη; Ὁ δ' ἀδελφεὸς ὁ οὗτος; Ἄλλος δέ τις τῶν νῦν ῥητόρων; Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδένα φημί. Ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας, ὃ χρηστός, ἡμεῖς ἀλλ' εἶπω, τὸν ζῶντα ἐξέταξε καὶ τοὺς κατ' ἐπὶ αὐτόν, ὥσπερ τὰλλα πάντα, τοὺς ποιητάς, τοὺς χαράς, τοὺς ἀγωνιστάς· ὁ Φιλάμμεν οὐκ ὅτι Γλαύκου τοῦ καὶ Καρυστίου καὶ τινων ἐτέρων πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀθλητῶν ἀσθενέστερος ἦν, ὥστε φάνηται ἐκ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἀπῆει, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῶν εἰσελθόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄριστα ἐμάχετο, ἐστεφανώθη καὶ τιμῶν ἀπολαύσας. Καὶ σὺ πρὸς τοὺς νῦν ὄρα με ῥήτορας, πρὸς αὐτόν, πρὸς ὄντινα βοῦναι τῶν ἀπάντων· οὐδένα ἐξίσταμαι καὶ 319 ἴδν, ὅτε μὲν τῇ πόλει τὰ βέλτεστα εἰσάγει παρῆν, ἐφαμίλλου τῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα εὐνοίας ἐν κοινῇ πᾶσι κειμένης, ἐγὼ κράτιστα λέγων ἐφανέρωθη, καὶ τοῖς ἐμαῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ νόμοις καὶ πρεσβείαις ἀπαντα διεκείτο, ὑμῶν δὲ οὐδέτις ἦν οὐδαμοῦ, πλὴν ἐν τούτοις ἐπαρεῖσαι τι δεοί· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἂ μὴ ποτ' ὄφειλε συνῆθῃ, καὶ οὐκ ἐτι συμβούλων, ἀλλὰ τῶν τοῦ ἐπιταγτομέους ἀπηρετῶντων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος μισοφρονούντων καὶ τῶν κολακεύειν ἐτέρους βαλλομένων ἐξέτασεν ἦν, τηρεῖν καὶ ταῦτα σὺ καὶ τούτων ἕκαστος ἐν τάξει καὶ μέγας καὶ

λαμπρὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐγὼ δ' ἀσθενής, ὁμολογῶ, ἀλλ' εὖνους μάλλον ὑμῶν τοιτοισί.

- 221 Δύο δ', ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖσι, τὸν φύσει μέτριον παλίαν
 ἔχειν δεῖ (οὗτω γάρ μοι περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ λέγοντι ἀνε-
 πιφθονώτατον εἰπεῖν), ὃν μὲν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις τὴν ταῦ
 γυναικίου καὶ τοῦ πρωτείου τῇ πόλει προαίρεσιν διαφν-
 λάττειν, ἐν παντὶ δὲ καιρῷ καὶ πράξει τὴν εὐνοίαν
 τούτου γὰρ ἡ φύσις κυρία, τοῦ δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ ἰσχύειν
 ἕτερα. Ταύτην τοίνυν παρ' ἐμοὶ μεμνηκυῖαν εὐρήσετε
 222 ἀπλῶς. Ὅρατε δέ. Οὐκ ἐξαιτούμενος, οὐκ Ἀμφι-
 κτυονικὰς δίκας ἐπαγόντων, οὐκ ἀπειλούντων, οὐκ ἐπαγ- 223
 γελλομένων, οὐχὶ τοὺς καταράτους τούτους ὥσπερ
 θηρία μοι προσβαλλόντων, οὐδαμῶς ἐγὼ προδέδωκα
 τὴν εἰς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίαν. Τὸ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς ὀρθὴν
 καὶ δικαίαν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πολιτείας εἰλόμην, τὰς τιμὰς,
 τὰς δυναστείας, τὰς εὐδοξίας τὰς τῆς πατρίδος θερε-
 224 πεύειν, ταύτας αὖξεν, μετὰ τούτων εἶναι. Οὐκ ἐπὶ
 μὲν τοῖς ἑτέρων εὐτυχήμασι φαιδρὸς ἐγὼ καὶ γεγηθὼς
 κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιέρχομαι, τὴν δεξιὰν προτείνων
 καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενος τούτοις οἷς ἂν ἐκείσε ἀπαγγέλλειν
 οἶωμαι, τῶν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθῶν πεφρικῶς ἀκούω καὶ
 στένων καὶ κύπτων εἰς τὴν γῆν, ὥσπερ οἱ δυσσεβεῖς
 οὗτοι, οἱ τὴν μὲν πόλιν διασύρουσιν, ὥσπερ οὐχ αὐτοὺς
 διασύροντες, ὅταν ταῦτο ποιῶσιν, ἔξω δὲ βλέπουσι, καὶ
 ἐν οἷς ἀτυχησάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐτύχησεν ἕτερος,
 ταῦτ' ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ἔπως τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μενεῖ
 φασὶ δαῖν τηρεῖν.

Μὴ δὴτ', ὁ πάντες θεοί, μηδαὺς ταῦθ' ὑμῶν ἐπι-
κρύσειεν, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τούτοις βελτίω τινα
νοῦν καὶ φρένας ἐνθείητε· εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἔχουσιν ἀμάτωσ,
τούτους μὲν αὐτοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐξώλεις καὶ προάλεις
ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ ποιήσατε, ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς λευκοῖς τὴν
ταχίστην ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἐπηρηγμένων φόβων δότε καὶ
σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ.



NOTES.



NOTES.

THIS speech of Demosthenes is a defence of himself against the attacks of Æschines, a personal and political enemy, made in his prosecution of Ctesiphon for proposing to crown Demosthenes. It was delivered by the orator, as associate advocate with Ctesiphon, about eight years after the indictment was moved by Æschines, — B. C. 329. The following may be taken as an outline of the course of thought:—

I. PLAN OF THE ORATION.

Exordium, §§ 1–8.

Refutation of charges foreign from the indictment, 9–52.

a. Of a private nature, 10, 11.

b. Of a public nature, 12–52.

Reply to the charges contained in the indictment, 53–125.

Strictures upon the character and course of his antagonist, compared with his own, 126–323.

Peroration, 324.

II. TOPICS IN SUCCESSION.

1. The orator calls upon the gods to dispose his judges to exercise as much kind feeling towards him as he continually has towards the city and all its inhabitants, and, especially, to hear him impartially, as the laws and their oath of office require, §§ 1, 2.

2. He reminds his judges of two disadvantages which he labored under in replying to *Æschines*;—(1.) The vastly greater interest which he had at stake than his antagonist; (2.) The unwelcome task which was imposed upon him, of speaking in defence of his own character and conduct, 3, 4.

3. That he evidently was equally interested in this trial with *Ctesiphon*, 5.

4. He again reminds his judges of their obligation to hear him impartially, 6, 7.

5. He again calls upon the gods to enable them to do so, 8.

6. That it was necessary for him, before entering upon a refutation of the charges in the indictment, to reply briefly to certain charges foreign from the indictment, which *Æschines* had brought against him, relating both to his private and public life, 9.

7. That he would not attempt to refute the charges brought against his private life, but would leave his judges to decide whether they were true or not, from the acquaintance which they had with him, 10, 11.

8. That it was obvious at the outset, from the very course which his antagonist had taken to bring him to trial, that the charges against his public character and course were suggested by enmity, and were therefore without foundation, 12–16.

9. That he would show them to be so on one point which had been much insisted upon by his opponent,—the peace with *Philip*, 17.

10. That the divided state of Greece, not he, led to the peace referred to, 18–20.

11. That, in point of fact, he did not propose the peace first, but certain friends of *Æschines*. Much less did he prevent a general combination of the tribes of Greece to treat with *Philip*, as both facts and the nature of the case showed, 21–24.

12. That the part which he acted in making the peace was highly useful, by urging its completion with all despatch, 25–29.

13. That *Æschines* and his accomplices gave Philip an opportunity of gaining great advantages over Athens, by loitering an unreasonable length of time on their embassy, before they made an application to him to ratify the treaty on his part, 30.

14. That, besides this, they were bribed by Philip to delay their return from Macedonia, till he had got in readiness his expedition against Phocis, and had actually passed the straits of Thermopylæ, 31, 32.

15. And to crown the whole, that *Æschines*, apart from his associates, was bribed to make, on his return, a very favorable report of the designs and disposition of Philip towards the Athenians, by which they were blinded to his true character, and led to abandon to him Phocis, their ally, without a struggle, 33 – 39.

16. That Philip, by the destruction of Phocis, gained credit with Thebes, her rival, and was thus enabled to acquire an ascendancy in that city, 40, 41.

17. That from this he went on increasing his power, by subduing one place after another, among which were many Grecian cities, and employing traitors in every state to accomplish his purposes, which he then cast aside, as they deserved to be, 42 – 49.

18. That more might be said upon this point, but that, undoubtedly, more than enough had already been said; which, if it was the case, should be charged to the account of *Æschines*, who had compelled him to enter upon these extraneous matters in self-defence, 50 – 52.

19. That he would now enter upon a refutation of the charges in the indictment, which he proceeds to have read before the court, 53 – 55.

20. That he would reply to the charges contained in it, in the order in which they there stood; and should do this by first reviewing his public life and measures, to which, in fact, they all alike pertained, and then by producing laws in their refutation, 56 – 59.

21. Passing over their relations with Philip previous to his devoting himself to the foreign policy of the city, he states, in defence of his policy in renewing the war with him ; — First, that Philip was obviously taking advantage of the corrupt and divided state of the different tribes of Greece, to establish himself upon their ruins, 60, 61.

22. Second, that Athens could not, consistently with the character and position which she had always maintained, have taken any other course than to resist him, 62 – 68.

23. Third, that Philip first violated the peace, by seizing certain allied cities of Athens, 69 – 72.

24. Fourth, that he had violated it, also, by seizing certain vessels belonging to Athens, 73 – 75.

25. Fifth, that Philip himself had virtually acquitted him of any blame in the matter by a letter which he addressed to the Athenians at that time, 76 – 78.

26. Sixth, that his first measures of hostility towards Philip were in resisting his unjust encroachments ; especially, in dispossessing him of Eubœa, for which he was crowned under precisely the same circumstances under which the decree of Ctesiphon proposed to crown him, 79 – 86.

27. Seventh, that the same might be said of the succor which he sent to the Byzantians and Perinthians, 87 – 94.

28. Eighth, that it was no valid objection to these measures, that they were devised for the relief of those who had sometimes injured Athens, as is shown from other instances in her history, 95 – 101.

29. That the modification which he introduced during this struggle into the system of equipping vessels was of great service to his country, and required great moral courage and integrity in himself to push it through, against the opposition and bribes of the rich, whom the change most affected, 102 – 109.

30. That it remained for him now to speak concerning the lawfulness of the proposed mode of proclaiming the crowning, and the obligation which he was under to render up an account of his public offices before it was lawful for him to be crowned, 110.

31. That he was under no obligation to give in an account of the money which he had contributed from his private fortune, and that it was for this for which it was proposed to crown him, 111–113.

32. He produces several decrees to show that others had been crowned under similar circumstances, 114–117.

33. That *Æschines* himself had virtually acknowledged that he was to be crowned for what he had given from his own purse, and was not therefore accountable for, by not objecting to the preamble of the decree of *Ctesiphon*, which expressly recommended the crowning upon this ground, 118, 119.

34. That while it was a matter of indifference to the one crowned where it was proclaimed, it was greatly for the interest of the state to have it proclaimed in the most public manner; which, in fact, was expressly provided for by law, 120–122.

35. That, as he conceived, courts were not constituted to furnish an arena for personal invective and abuse; but yet that he was compelled, in self-defence, to return some of the invective which had been thrown out so freely against him, which he should proceed to do, having first asked his opponent one question, 123–125.

36. That it was a matter of some interest to know who this was that had taken it upon himself to ridicule his language, and at the same time had himself used such language as no respectable man would have ventured to use, 126–128.

37. The origin of *Æschines*, and his late appearance in public life, 129–131.

38. That, even before the breaking out of the war, he had given proof of a treasonable connection with Philip;—First, by the attention and favor which he showed to *Antiphon*, one of his emissaries, 132–135.

39. Second, by his coöperation with *Python*, another agent of Philip, 136.

40. Third, by his connection with *Anaxinus*, also engaged in the service of Philip, 137.

41. That numerous other instances of his treasonable prac-

tices in those times might be mentioned, were it necessary, 138.

42. That he still continued in the service of Philip after his designs were plainly manifested, and he had virtually made war upon Attica, 139.

43. That especially deserving of attention and reprobation was the aid which he had given Philip, in getting up the Amphictyonic War against Amphissa, and securing to him the conduct of it, 140 – 144.

44. That Philip, prevented from bringing his contest with Athens to a close by intervening Grecian tribes, sought some pretext of common interest, which should open a way for him into the heart of Greece; and, thinking that he discovered such a pretext in the desecration of the sacred region of Cirrha by the Amphissians, hired *Æschines* to procure a vote of the Amphictyons to make war upon them on that account, 145 – 150.

45. That the Amphictyons, undertaking the war, soon felt their need of the aid of Philip, as he anticipated they would, and applied to him to take the lead of the forces. But that he, being thus intrusted with carrying on the war, instead of proceeding against the Amphissians, turned aside and took Elatea, as a most favorable position from which to operate in his designs upon Greece, and especially upon Athens, 151 – 157.

46. That *Æschines* had furnished him with the opportunity for doing all this, and thus was the guilty cause of all the evils which had befallen his country, 158, 159.

47. That, while his opponent was thus engaged in the service of Philip, he was steadily resisting him; and, especially, watched to prevent a rupture between Athens and Thebes, and a union of the latter with Philip, 160 – 162.

48. That, by the intrigues of Philip and his accomplices, these cities were very near an open rupture, as is shown from various documents, 163–168.

49. That, amidst the trepidation and confusion occasioned by the arrival of the news of the capture of Elatea, he alone

appeared as counsellor, and proposed such a course as was calculated to secure the confidence and alliance of Thebes, 169-173.

50. The course which he advised to be taken, 174-178.

51. That he not only proposed an embassy to Thebes, but afterwards went upon it himself, and succeeded in securing the object proposed to be effected by it, 179-187.

52. That, although the time when these measures were proposed was the proper time for making objections to them, still, as *Æschines* did not do it then, he would call upon him to do it now, if he could, but not to blame him for the issue, since this, in all cases, was in the hands of the Deity, 188-194.

53. But that, even if the issue should be taken into the account, it ought to be considered how much lighter the stroke was rendered by his policy than it otherwise would have been, though it did not succeed in averting it, 195.

54. Furthermore, that if *Æschines* foresaw the result, it was his duty to have pointed it out at the time of the deliberations; but if he did not foresee it, he was as much accountable for this as himself, or any other one. That, in truth, *Æschines* had never given any timely and useful advice on any question, but only appeared in times of trouble, to augment the evil, like fractures and sprains when the body is weak, 196-198.

55. Besides, that, even if the issue had been distinctly foreseen, the city could not, consistently with the position which she had always occupied among the powers of Greece, and the example of their ancestors, have taken any other course than the one which he advised, 199-205.

56. That, if Ctesiphon should be condemned according to the demand of *Æschines*, it would be saying, in effect, that they had done wrong in following his advice, and not that they had been frowned upon by fortune; and, at the same time, would be showing a spirit unworthy of their ancestors, 206-210.

57. A resumption of the account of his proceedings at Thebes while on his embassy at that place, 211, 212.

58. The opposition which he encountered there, but his success against it all, 213, 214.

59. The cordiality and confidence with which the Athenian troops were received at Thebes, when at length they marched thither to unite with her against Philip, and the success which they met with in two different battles, 215 – 217.

60. The change which it produced in the tone and bearing of Philip, 218 – 221.

61. That he himself was crowned on the occasion, in consequence of the success of his measures, by a decree of precisely the same nature as that for which Ctesiphon was now arraigned; and that Æschines might with more justice have prosecuted the proposers of this decree, than he now prosecutes Ctesiphon, 222 – 226.

62. That the reasoning of Æschines, in which he contends that these services are more than offset by his own, and ought to leave no impression in his favor, is sophistical, 227–231.

63. That the proper view to take of the matter was to consider the resources which he had at his command, compared with the difficulties to be overcome, which he proceeds to do, 232 – 237.

64. That it was no objection to his policy, that he had made the burden light upon some of the allies, in order to secure their alliance; since their ancestors had done so in a memorable instance, and since the circumstances of the case rendered it necessary, and he and his friends would have been sure to assail him for it, if he had let the opportunity of securing their alliance pass, 238 – 243.

65. That, in fact, the city had not been defeated in anything coming under his charge, 244 – 247.

66. That the people and courts of justice had, by their conduct towards him since the unhappy issue of the struggle, warranted such a decree as that of Ctesiphon, 248 – 251.

67. That, as he was aware, it was no way to judge of a man

by his fortune, especially with such unworthy views of fortune as his opponent had expressed ; but yet, that, in self-defence, he was compelled to draw a comparison between his own fortune and that of *Æschines*, 252 – 256.

68. A comparison of their respective fortunes at the different periods of life, 257 – 264.

69. A recapitulation of the points of contrast in their fortunes, with some additional particulars, 265 – 267.

70. That, in disproving the charge of being attended by an ill-fortune, he did not consider it proper to speak of his private good deeds, 268, 269.

71. But of his public course it should be further observed, that, if any one had been freed from the power of Philip, it ought to be ascribed to him ; but that their misfortunes, since they had been shared by all Greece, should be considered as a consequence of the evil fortune of all, or, at least, could not be charged to him, any more than to his countrymen generally, and, especially, to his adversary, 270 – 275.

72. That the caution given the judges by his adversary, to be on their guard against the influence of his artful oratory, was unnecessary ; since whatever of that he possessed had always been employed for the good of his country, and on proper occasions, which was more than could be said of his antagonist, 276 – 284.

73. That the people had manifested their confidence in him, and their distrust of his adversary, by choosing him, in preference to all others, to deliver the funeral oration over the dead bodies of those who fell at Chæronea, 285 – 290.

74. That it was a very suspicious circumstance in *Æschines*, that he was not at all affected at the mention of the calamities which had befallen his country, but could recount them, for the purpose of charging them upon him, with perfect indifference, 291 – 293.

75. That nothing could be more malicious than the charge which his adversary had attempted to fix upon him, of acting for Philip, when it was notorious that he himself, and a band

of others like him in every State, had been the busy promoters of his interest in Greece, 294 – 296.

76. That if then it be asked, why he deserved to be honored with a crown, he would reply, — First, because that, of all the public men of his time, he alone had shown himself proof against bribes, 297, 298.

77. Second, because of the protection which he had secured to Attica, not merely by repairing her fortifications, but, more especially, by the alliances and defence which he had gained for her by his measures, 299 – 305.

78. That these were the proper works of a statesman, and very different from those of his adversary, 306 – 313.

79. That the comparison which his antagonist had made between him and some of their predecessors was unjust, for various reasons ; but if he pleased, that he would stand a comparison with him, or any of his contemporaries, 314 – 320.

80. That at least it must be acknowledged that he had uniformly pursued a patriotic course, 321 – 323.

81. The peroration, containing a simple prayer to the gods to dispose these enemies of their country to better things, or, if they were incurable, to pursue them with destruction over sea and land, 324.

§ 1–9. EXORDIUM. This exordium has been justly admired. The style is flowing and graceful, and the spirit solemn and earnest. We are introduced immediately to the scene of the trial, and find ourselves in the presence, not only of the eager multitude of Athens, but of the gazing divinities of Olympus. We feel the fervor of the speaker the first sentence he pronounces, and anticipate the solemn interests which he has at stake. As the circumstances of the case were sufficiently well known to his hearers, from the speech of his opponent and from general notoriety, the orator very properly employs his introductory remarks in preparing the way for a

favorable hearing with his judges. This kind of introduction was called by the Greeks *ἔφοδος*, while those employed in explaining the cause, etc., were called *προοίμια*. As to its substance, it expresses a desire that his judges may hear him impartially, the reasons for that desire, and then a repetition of the desire; or, as Dissen has expressed it, *a wish, the grounds of the wish, and a return to the wish*.

1. *ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι*,] “men of Athens, Athenians.” *ἀνὴρ* was generally joined by the Greeks to the names of nations; also to titles, professions, etc. This is not uncommon in English; as, *Englishman*, *policeman*, etc. By this title he addresses his hearers generally, but especially the judges. The cause was tried before one of the tribunals of the Heliasts. These were the popular courts, and took cognizance of the greater part of the causes which were tried at Athens. The Heliasts were six thousand in all, and were divided into sections, varying at different periods and on different occasions from two hundred to one thousand or fifteen hundred. Besides, these courts were open to and thronged by the people (see as evidence of this, among other passages, § 196, *init.*), and hence differed but little from the popular assemblies. — *τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχόμεαι*, κ. τ. λ.] This was the most solemn form of invocation used by the Greeks, it being substantially the same as that uttered by the crier at the opening of the meetings of the assembly. See Schöm. *Assembl. of Athenians*, § 92. The importance of the cause justifies the earnestness of the appeal, and perhaps prompted it; though many have supposed that it was resorted to by the orator in order to remove from the minds of his hearers the suspicion of his impiety, which the speech of *Æschines* was calculated to leave upon them. — *ὁσὴν εὐνοίαν τοσαύτην*.] Perhaps a mere oratorical inversion of the members of the sentence for the sake of emphasis; but more probably, as Dissen suggests, for the purpose of stating the reason for the request he was about to make before the request itself. If he had always been well disposed to them, he certainly might ask that they

should be kindly disposed to him on this occasion. — *ὑπάρξαι*] Not simply “to be,” but “to begin to be,” “to spring up,” “to be ready at hand,” “to be afforded.” The aor. is used, like the aorists below, *παραστήσαι, ποιήσασθαι*, etc., because the act referred to is independent of circumstances and momentary in its nature. The request is simply for the present trial. Kühn. § 257, 1. Both the meaning of the word and its tense contribute to bring out the opposition designed to be expressed to *ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ*, “I continually have.” — *τοῦτον*] The *ί* adds to the demonstrative power of the pronoun, same as the adverb *here* does in English; hence, “this *here*,” — “this present.” — *ἔπειθ’*] This marks the succession indicated by *πρῶτον μὲν* in the first line, and hence is equivalent to *δεύτερον δέ*. The *δέ*, which regularly follows *μὲν* in the adversative clause, is generally omitted with *ἔπειτα*, since this particle expresses the contrast sufficiently of itself. Kühn. § 322, R. 4. This second reason, he says, has reference to them instead of himself, bearing alike upon their obligation to the gods to preserve their oath of office, and upon their reputation among men. Observe the connectives, *καὶ . . . τε καὶ. τε καὶ* refer, one to *εὐσεβείας* and the other to *δόξης*, while *καὶ* connects both of these with *ὑμῶν* (“for you, and indeed both for your piety and honor.”) — *σύμβουλον*] “counsellor,” “adviser.” Æschines, in his oration, (p. 83), had urged the judges to confine Demosthenes, in his reply, to the same order which he himself had pursued. This is further alluded to in § 2. — *τοῦ πῶς ἀκούειν, κ. τ. λ.*] This is an infinitive clause used as a noun. Such clauses are found in all Greek authors, but abound in Demosthenes more, perhaps, than in any other. The infinitive used as a noun expresses action divested of all its accidents and circumstances, — the very soul and essence of action, therefore. It possesses great energy and vivacity, and is favorable to condensation. It is natural, therefore, that it should be a favorite construction with a mind of such force and vehemence as that of Demosthenes.

2. *τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ*] “the order and the defence.”

Alluding to the restriction in this respect which Æschines (§§ 203 – 205) had urged the judges to lay upon him. These words are governed by *χρήσασθαι*, and form a part of the infinitive clause introduced by *τό*. The article which precedes each of them has a kind of possessive sense, = “the order and the defence which each party is properly entitled to.” Comp. *τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων*, “the required or legal part of the votes,” § 222, et alias. It is also to be observed, with Dissen, that logical strictness would require a word of more general meaning than *ἀπολογία* in this place, as *ἀποδείξει*, for instance, which would apply to both parties in a suit; since *ἀπολογία* properly refers only to the defendant. But a special term was very naturally adopted in making a general remark with reference to a particular case. — *ὡς βεβούληται καὶ προήρηται*] The relative clause here being placed before the demonstrative clause, makes the arrangement emphatic, as was observed in a similar case above, § 1. Of the two verbs, the former properly means “has desired,” and the latter “has preferred” or “fixed upon.” They are not synonymous, but cumulative, in their meaning.

3. *οὐ περὶ . . . ἀγωνίζομαι*] “I do not contend concerning things of equal value,” or “I have more at stake.” All that Æschines had at stake was the fine of a thousand drachmas imposed upon the accuser in such causes, if he failed to obtain a fifth part of the votes of the judges in his favor, and the inability to institute similar prosecutions afterwards. Comp. Herm. Polit. Antiq. § 144. Demosthenes, on the contrary, had been charged with so weighty accusations by Æschines, that, had the cause been decided against Ctesiphon, he must have fallen with him, and lost all character with his fellow-citizens, both for wisdom and virtue. As he states at the commencement of § 8, his whole public and private life was involved in the cause. And this it is which makes this, of all the orations of Demosthenes, the most valuable. It is a profound and statesmanlike discussion of his long course of public and private labors in the service of his country, — a dis-

cussion which involved everything which he held dear, and to which he brought the experience and reflection of his ripest years. — *ἄλειν τὴν γραφήν*] A technical expression, meaning “to gain the cause.” — *ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ μὲν, κ. τ. λ.*] A case of *aposiopesis*. The thought suppressed after *ἐμοὶ μὲν* may be best supplied, I think, as follows: “but while to me *everything is at stake*.” To this clause, the clause after the parenthesis corresponds. The only difficulty here is in *ἐκ περιουσίας*. *περιουσία* properly means “superfluity,” “excess,” and hence may mean “advantage,” as it evidently does in *Orat. de F. L.*, p. 366 init.: *τίς οὖν ἡ ταύτης περιουσία . . .*; “what then is the *advantage* of this?” *ἐκ περιουσίας*, then, would mean “from a vantage ground,” or “with the advantage,” which is the meaning given in the first edition. Upon more reflection, however, I am now inclined to the more common meaning of the phrase, “superfluously,” “wantonly,” “as a mere pastime.” We may translate, therefore: “but while to me *everything is at stake* (but I am unwilling to express any unpleasant forebodings at the commencement of my speech), he accuses me as a mere pastime,” i. e. evidently without any apprehension of serious consequences to himself. — *Ἐταρον δ’*] He here states the second point of the disadvantage he labors under in comparison with his adversary, viz. the natural love in man for slander and crimination, and his disgust at self-commendation.

4. *ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν*] “so to speak.” denoting a limitation. Kühn. § 341, R. 3. — *ἔχειν*] “to have,” “have wherewith,” “be able.” It governs *ἀπολύσασθαι* and *δεικνύμαι*, — the first in the aor., because the charges to be refuted were a definite thing, and the refuting of them was conceived of as a single act; the second in the pres., because designed to describe a continued attempt to set forth his merits extending through the whole oration, and bearing upon an indefinite number of particulars. — *πεποιήκα καὶ πεπολίτευμαι*] The difference in meaning between these words, as here applied, is not obvious, and perhaps none exists, but they are to be re-

garded as substantially synonymous, and joined together for the purpose of oratorical fulness and emphasis. We find each of them, in different places, joined with the verb *πράττω*; as, § 45, *ἐν τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ πράττειν*, and, § 62, *πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν*; also, F. Leg., p. 373, fin., *ὅτι πράξει ταῦτα καὶ ποιήσει*. *πολιτεύεσθαι* properly means "to act as a citizen of a free State, i. e. "to take part in the public deliberations of the government," "to suggest measures of government," and hence, "to act the part of a statesman," "to effect as a statesman," "to manage," very like the Latin *gerere*. But *πράττειν*, as applied to public affairs, seems to refer to acting as a regularly appointed public officer, or as a regular business and for a livelihood, and hence with selfish and ambitious views, like the Latin *agere*. See § 45. *ποιεῖν* properly means "to make," like *facere* in Latin. But it often has a meaning very similar to *πράττειν*, "to do," "perform." Probably, however, *ποιεῖν* in all its meanings retains some allusion to its primitive meaning of producing a result, creating or bringing about something. It may be rendered, therefore, in these cases, "to carry through," "bring about," "make good." — *ὡς μετριώτατα*] "as moderately or briefly as possible." K. § 239, R. 2, (d). — *τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτὸ*] "the cause itself," i. e. without any seeking of his own. — *ἐστὶ δίκαιος*] Instead of *ἐστὶ δίκαιον*, — the personal instead of the impersonal construction, which is very common with *δίκαιος*, *ἄξιος*, etc. K. § 307, R. 6, (d).

5. *καὶ οὐδὲν . . . ἐμοί*] We have seen, § 3, how Demosthenes was equally interested in the cause with Ctesiphon, who, as the one formally prosecuted, had first replied to Æschines, and now Demosthenes replies as equally implicated. — *ἄλλως τε καὶ . . . συμβαίνει*] "especially if this happens to one by an enemy." *καὶ*, it will be perceived, is a crasis for *καὶ ἄν*; hence *ἄλλως τε καὶ* means, literally, "as in other cases, so particularly if" (*καί* being stronger than *τέ*, and making the last member prominent = *and especially*. K. 321,

1, c). Observe that the intransitive verb *συμβαίνει* takes the agent or author after it in the Gen., with *ὑπό*, like the passive verb. K. 299, II. 2, (a). — *εὐνοίας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας*] “favorable regard and kindness.” Which of course he would lose if the cause was decided in favor of Æschines, who had occupied nearly his whole speech in decrying Demosthenes. A decision in his adversary’s favor, therefore, would be allowing the charges against himself. This high appreciation of their kindness and humanity must have been very grateful to his judges, since the Athenians prided themselves upon this virtue. See Orat. adv. Leptin., p. 490: *μεῖζον, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Θηβαῖοι φρονοῦσι ἐπ’ ὁμότητι καὶ πονηρίᾳ ἢ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ φιλανθρωπία καὶ τῷ τὰ δίκαια βούλεσθαι.*

6. This and the following section, as Dissen observes, with his usual insight into the oratorical structure of sentences, are distinguishable into three parts, of which each succeeding part confirms and more fully explains the preceding. The first ends with *δικαίως*, the second with *ὁμωμοκέναι*, and the third concludes the period. — *οὗς ὁ τιθεὶς . . . ὁμωμοκέναι*] “which Solon, their original framer, being kindly disposed to you and a friend of the people, thought should be controlling (supreme), not only by proposing them for enactment, but also by the fact, that you who sit in judgment have taken an oath to make them so.” Solon, the framer of the democratic constitution of Athens, was regarded by the Athenians as eminently a friend of the people, and is often described as such by writers of all classes. He is alluded to in this character here, because the orator is about to assert the supremacy of the laws which he made; — he was highly democratic, it is confessed, but nevertheless he designed his laws to be superior in authority to everything else. The laws brought before the assembly of the people for enactment, were always to be written down, and hence *γράφειν* in such case means “to propose.” Logical strictness seems to require that *ὁμωμοκέναι* should mean “to place under oath,” but the act. never has this meaning. The

causative verb "to swear," is ὀρκουῖν or ὀρκίζειν. See § 30. The word was probably used as having a softer meaning; since it implied less control of the lawgiver over the judges.

7. τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς διαβολὰς] These two words are often found joined in Demosthenes, and instead of the last we frequently find λοιδορία. See § 15. αἰτία, as defined by Demosthenes, Orat. adv. Androt., p. 600, means "charges," i. e. mere accusations where no proof is given; διαβολή means "a false accusation," "slander." — ὁ διώκων ἰσχύει] "the prosecutor is strong, or has the advantage." ὁ διώκων properly means "one who pursues or follows up," just as *prosecutor* does with us; but the Greeks had a corresponding term for defendant, ὁ φεύγων (see τῷ φεύγοντι in the next clause), which we have not. — παρελθεῖν] "to pass by," "to escape." A word adopted, evidently, to keep up the figure contained in διώκων and φεύγοντι. — ὕστερον] I retain this in preference to ὕστερον, the other reading, since it corresponds better to πρότερος above. See Hom. Il. V. 15–17: Φηγεὺς ῥα πρὸ-τερος ὁ δ' ὕστερος ὤρνυτο χαλκῷ Τυδείδης. And if it be said that πρότερον is also found instead of πρότερος in some MSS., it may be replied, that this reading is undoubtedly wrong, as πρότερον means "formerly." See §§ 10, 142, 223, 238, 316. — καὶ . . . καὶ] "both" . . . "and," connect not only their respective verbs, but also the participial clauses standing in connection with them. — οὕτω τὴν διάγνωσιν, κ. τ. λ.] "shall thus make the decision concerning every particular" (i. e. in view of all the circumstances of the case).

8. ὥς ἔοικε] This is thrown in by way of limitation or abatement of the comprehensiveness of the assertion implied in παντός. Such limitations are common in Demosthenes, as in every cautious and accurate thinker. — ἔπειθ', κ. τ. λ.] "then, whatever is destined to contribute to the public honor and your individual piety, that this the gods may grant to you all to decide concerning the present indictment." μέλλει συνοίσειν forms a periphrastic future of very much the same

nature as the Latin periphrastic future, consisting of the fut. part. and the verb *sum*; it does not indicate an action as simply future, but as *incomplete*, — what is on the point of taking place, or is destined to take place. *κοινῇ* properly means “in common,” “collectively,” “as a body;” but as these introductory remarks were addressed not exclusively to the judges, but to the citizens generally, who thronged the court, and with whom equally with the judges he wished to gain an acquittal, it may very properly here be taken in the sense of “publicly,” as above. The decision of this cause would bear upon their public honor, inasmuch as the measures of Demosthenes had been adopted and acted upon so extensively by the city, that a condemnation of him would be a condemnation of the public policy. This idea he more fully develops in subsequent parts of the speech. It would bear upon the individual piety of those who sat in judgment upon him, since they were religiously bound as judges to give just decisions according to the laws.

9. The orator, having completed his exordium, now proceeds to reply to the speech of his opponent. And, first, to certain charges foreign to the indictment, relating both to his public and private life. — *Εἰ μὲν οὖν, κ. τ. λ.*] “If, therefore, Æschines had accused me only for those things on account of which he brought the prosecution,” etc. The points for which the prosecution was brought are those contained in the indictment (*γραφή*), §§ 54 and 55. It will be apparent from examining this, that all charges brought against his private life were foreign to the cause. Certain public measures, also, especially the peace with Philip, he considers foreign to the cause; since he then acted only a secondary part, — the peace having been proposed and brought about by others, while he merely proposed a decree for obtaining the ratification of it on the part of Philip as soon as possible. — *προβουλευματος*] “preliminary decree.” Referring to the decree of Ctesiphon to crown Demosthenes, which Æschines, in his indictment of its author for proposing it, had represented as illegal on seve-

ral grounds, and which, therefore, it was the business of Demosthenes to defend. This oration, therefore, may be, and indeed is, by its author, considered, at different times, as a defence of himself, as a defence of Ctesiphon, or of the decree which Ctesiphon had proposed; since they were all, in fact, arraigned by the indictment. This will be seen, if it be stated under what circumstances the prosecution arose. It was what was called, in Athenian law, *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, or *an indictment for proposing illegal decrees*, or such as were supposed to violate any law still in force. Any one on proposing such a decree was liable to be impeached for its illegality, before the popular tribunals, by any of his fellow-citizens. Now, in the present case Ctesiphon, a friend of Demosthenes, had proposed a decree in the Senate to crown him on account of his eminent public services, which Æschines asserted was illegal, and commenced a public prosecution of its author for proposing it, and indirectly of Demosthenes, as unworthy of the praise bestowed upon him by it. It is called a *preliminary decree*, because it had never been ratified by the assembly of the people, and consequently was but a partial decree, expressing only the opinion of the Senate. Had it been sanctioned by the people, it would have become a *ψήφισμα*; but this was prevented by the indictment of its author, lodged by Æschines with the archon before it came before the assembly. — *διεξιῶν*] “rehearsing,” “setting forth in detail.” For the acc. of the thing, and the gen. of the author or cause, with *κατεψευσάτο*, see K. § 292, R. — *ἵνα μηδεὶς, κ. τ. λ.*] “that no one of you, influenced by words foreign from the cause, may hear with more estrangement (aversion), my just remarks upon the indictment.” *ὑπερ*, which, like the Latin *super*, properly means “over,” “above,” comes to mean, when transferred to the relations of thought, “upon,” “concerning,” very much like *περί*; since, for instance, a dispute *over* a thing is substantially the same as a dispute *about* a thing; but the first implies a closer and more *essential* relation.

10. *βεβλασφήμηκε*] For the construction of this verb, see

§ 11, n. — ἀνάσχησθε.] The aor. subj. used as imperat., as is generally the case in prohibitive expressions with μή, K. § 259, 5. — ὑπέρειν] “over well,” “ever so well.” — καὶ μηδενὸς χείρονα] “and (that I may say nothing offensive) inferior to none of the middling or respectable sort of people.” — ἤν] When placed thus in the same clause with its noun, it has the force of an adjective pronoun, as *what* often has in English (“*what* favor”). K. 332, 8. — ἐνδείδειχθε] “you have shown forth,” “exhibited,” like the Latin *præ se ferre*. The middle voice, but not used in the strictest sense of the middle. K. § 250, 1, (b).

11. Κακοήθης δ' ὦν τρέψασθαι] “But, Æschines, being evil-minded, you altogether weak-mindedly minded (thought) this, that I, having passed by the account of my public acts [see § 4, note], should turn (i. e. to reply) to the slanders uttered by you” (as a malicious man like himself naturally would). There is a play upon the words κακοήθης, εὐήθης, φήθης, which I have attempted to imitate in the translation. — τετύφωμαι] lit. “have become stupefied,” “am a dunce.” For the perf. here, as often, expresses rather the *result* of the action than the act itself, K. § 255, R. 5. — ὑπὲρ] = περί nearly; see § 9, note, and K. § 293, I. (2), (e). — ἃ κατεψεύδον καὶ διέβαλλες] “which you invented and slanderously stated.” = *made out by falsehood and slander*. The acc. here denotes the *effect* or *result*, and the verbs are to be taken in the pregnant meaning. K. § 278, 2. The same is the case with ὅσα βεβλασφήμηκε (§ 10), “which reviling he has stated slanderously concerning me,” = *made out by slander*. In the sense, “falsely charge upon,” καταψεύδεσθαι governs the gen. of person and acc. of thing. See §§ 9 and 24. But διαβάλλειν, in the simple sense “to slander,” governs the acc. of the person. See § 24 (πόλιν being viewed as a person). These two usages being kept in view, these verbs will give the student no further difficulty. τῆς δὲ πομπείας, κ. τ. λ.] “but this invective, so freely indulged in, I will afterwards call up, if there remain in these (i. e. his

judges, etc.) a disposition to hear." *πομπεία* properly means "a procession," but as in certain processions ribaldry and abuse were indulged in, it came to have the meaning here given to it. See § 122, note. Observe the Greek idiom with verbs of *willing, desiring*, and the contrary, in the phrase *ἀνβουλομένοις ἀκούειν ἢ τουτοισί*, lit. "if it may be to these willing to hear. — It will be observed from this and the preceding paragraphs, that the orator proposes to arrange what he has to say under three general heads : 1st, to reply to the charges brought against him foreign to the indictment ; 2d, to those contained in the indictment ; and, 3d, to return some of the invective which his adversary had heaped upon him.

12. *διδόασι τιμωρίας*] "give punishments." *τιμορία*, then, was the regular punishment ordained by the laws in specific cases ; but *τίμημα* was the arbitrary damage or penalty awarded by the judge. See *τιμωρίαι* § 14, and *τίμημα*, § 55. In defence of the reading *διδόασι*, instead of the other reading *τάττουςι*, I refer, with Dissen, to *Orat. adv. Leptin.*, p. 504: *οἱ (τόμοι) τε τοῖς ἀγαθόν τι ποιοῦσι τὰς τιμὰς διδόντες καὶ οἱ τοῖς τάναντία πράττουσι τὰς τιμωρίας*. — *τοῦ δὲ παρόντος ἀγῶνος . . . τοιαῦτα*] "but this aim (i. e. such as *Æschines* had exhibited) of the present trial has in view, at the same time, abuse, and insult, and reviling, and contumely, and all such things of an enemy." That is to say, it had in view the venting of his enmity upon *Demosthenes*, and not the vindication of justice to the city ; it was, as he calls it in a subsequent part of the oration (§ 121), *φθόνου δίκην*, "a cause instituted from enmity." This he proceeds to substantiate. — *οὐκ ἐνι τῇ πόλει*] "it is not possible to the city." The city could not inflict punishment for such crimes, according to *Dissen*, because committed so long before, and not presented individually, but in a mass.

13. *Οὐ γὰρ . . . ἐστίν*] "For it is not proper to take away from me the privilege of appearing before the people and addressing them ; nor from abusiveness and envy to do this, — by the gods, — is it either right, or lawful, or just."

That is to say, it was not proper thus to attack him in the name of another (instead of bringing him to trial separately), with the hope of depriving him of the privilege of replying (see *Æsch. adv. Ctes.* p. 82), and especially when done from malice and envy. The negatives *οὔτε . . . οὔτε . . . οὔτε* are merely an emphatic repetition, in the several clauses, of the general negation contained in *οὐδ'* (see § 186. n.) *πολιτικόν*, "consistent with the laws of the State" = *lawful*. According to this view (which is substantially that of Dissen), *γάρ*, of course, does not refer to the clause immediately preceding, but, as is often the case, to the leading subject of the whole preceding sentence, viz. the personal character and injustice of the cause. — *ἐτραγώδει*] "set forth pompously." Alluding, as also by *ὑποκρίνεται* below, to the former profession of *Æschines* as an actor. — *παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ δεικνύματα*] "immediately upon the commission of the crimes themselves." The infinitive immediately following these words depends on *ἴδει*, to be supplied from the previous sentence. The orator is here stating what course his opponent ought to have pursued. — *εἰσαγγελίας*] A term in Athenian law, descriptive of a kind of impeachment or information against any one deemed dangerous to the State, in cases not expressly provided for by the laws. *Comp. Herm. Polit. Antiq.* § 133. — *εἰσαγγέλοντα*] A participle belonging to the subject of *χορῆσθαι*, and expressing the manner in which *Æschines* should have availed himself of the various processes for bringing him to justice, — a usage entirely parallel to that of the English in similar cases. *K.* § 312, 4, (e). — *γράφοντα . . . γραφόμενον*] Observe the difference between the act. and mid. of this verb; the act. part. means "proposing," the mid. "indicting." The latter, like other verbs of accusing, governs the gen. of the crime or charge (*παράνομων*, "illegal measures"), *K.* § 274, 2. — *οὐ γὰρ δήπου . . . ἐγράψατο*] "for surely it cannot be that he prosecutes Ctesiphon on my account, and that he would not have indicted me myself (*ἐμὲ . . . αὐτόν*), had he supposed that he should convict me." This is said to show that there

must have been sufficient hostility to prompt a prosecution and the chance of success. The relation of apodosis here is such as to deny the thing conditioned. K. . . . *αὐτόν*, see § 279.

14. *Καὶ μὲν*] "and indeed," "furtively" to introduce a new thought by affirmation. K. § 316, 1, (c). — *εἰςὶ νόμοι . . . χρῆσθαι*] "there are laws concerning all cases, and punishments, and actions, and trials, having severe and heavy damages, and it was lawful to avail himself of all these." "*τὰ ἐπιτίμια sunt omnino quæ quis luere debet, sive debeat παθεῖν sive ἀποτίσαι.*" *Dissen.* This is the definition which Demosthenes gives of *τίμμημα*, *Orat. adv. Mid.*, p. 523. The two words are substantially the same in meaning as they are in derivation. On this and also *τιμωρίαι*, see note on § 12. — *καὶ ὅπνινχα ἐφαίνετο*, κ. τ. λ.] "and when he had appeared," etc.; i. e. in case he had. It will be observed that this is the protasis to the clause beginning with *ὡμολογεῖτο*, and hence should regularly be introduced by *εἰ*. K. § 339, 1. (b). I do not recollect another case of this kind, though there may be others. — *τοῖς πρὸς ἐμὲ*] "those suited to my case." *πρὸς ἐμὲ* acquires a kind of substantive idea by having the article prefixed, like *τοῖς ἐμοῖς*, "mine," and hence the omission of the noun to which *τοῖς* refers. K. §§ 244, 10, and 263, d. See, also, *τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ*, §§ 246, 247.

15. *τοσούτοις ὕστερον χρόνοις*] Not "after so long a time," but "in times so long after." Hence it is time definite, and therefore in the dat. K. § 283, 3. — *ὑποκρίνεται*, "acts a part," "exaggerates the case," "makes sweeping charges," after the extravagant style of actors. The length of time which had elapsed since the pretended crimes, of course, was favorable to this. — *Εἰτα . . . φαίνεται*] "Then he brings his charges against me, while he puts this man (i. e. Ctesiphon) on trial, and evinces as the cause (*προϊσταται*) of the

132 whole with dishe

That ~~is~~ trial the enmity he has against me, while never having ~~nam~~ectly met me for this (i. e. on this ground) he ostensibly seeks to take away the political privileges of another." It may be observed, in illustration of this passage, that almost the entire speech of Æschines is taken up in severe remarks and strictures upon the character and course of Demosthenes, while next to nothing is said of Ctesiphon, and that in a comparatively mild tone. The way in which this suit would take away the political privileges of Ctesiphon was, by fixing a heavy penalty, which he could not pay, in case he lost his cause, and thus rendering him a public debtor, which would deprive him of all political rights until the debt was discharged. Herm. Polit. Antiq. § 124.

16. *ἄν λέγειν*] "might say." *ἄν* is used with the infinitive in all cases where it would be used in the construction with the finite verb, and hence gives the infin. something of the force of the moods. K. § 260, 2, (5), (a). — *ὅτι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἁγῶρας . . . ζῆτεῖν*] "that it was just for us to fight out the battle of our enmity by ourselves, not to neglect a personal contest while we seek some other person upon whom to inflict an injury." *ἔξετασμός* does not seem to differ from *ἔξέτασις*, except it be, as Dissen suggests, a word of somewhat lower application, to disputes and wrangling. *ἔξέτασιν ποιεῖν*, § 226, means "to make an examination," and *ἔξετασμόν ποιεῖσθαι* here might be rendered "to make a review," "measure the strength of," — the verb being in the mid. in the latter case on account of the action referring to themselves. *ἐτέρῳ δ' ὄντι* presents a case of inverted attraction, the antecedent being attracted into the case of the relative, instead of the reverse of this. K. § 332, R. 11.

17. *ἄν τις ἴδοι*] "any one might see," i. e. if he would but consider the case. *ἄν* always refers to a condition either expressed or implied. K. § 260, 1. — *ἐπ'*] "in conformity with." K. § 296, (3), (c). — *ὅσα ὑπὲρ . . . μου*] "what he falsely charged upon me concerning the peace and the embassy." See Æsch. Contr. Ctesiph. § 62 seq. The peace here

referred to was the peace which the Athenians made with Philip, king of Macedonia; and the embassy, that sent by the Athenians for the purpose of obtaining the ratification of the peace, on the part of Philip, which had been voted on their part just before (19th of Elaphebolion, B. C. 346, Dem. F. L., p. 359, § 64). A previous embassy had been sent a few months before. Demosthenes and Æschines were both placed upon each of these embassies. On the first embassy they were harmonious and on very intimate terms, but during the deliberations concerning the peace which took place on their return, they fell into some difference with regard to the conditions upon which the peace should be concluded, and from this point separated more and more widely, till they became most violent enemies. This enmity first vented itself publicly in the prosecution which Demosthenes brought against Æschines, after their return from the second embassy, for malversation. The speeches of both on this trial are extant, and contain a full account of the proceedings with regard to the peace and the embassy here alluded to. The last exhibition of this enmity was made in the prosecution which Æschines brought against Ctesiphon, for proposing to crown Demosthenes for his eminent public services, which gave rise to this oration and that of Æschines on the same subject. As to the peace itself, it had reference to certain difficulties which Athens had had with Philip in regard to Amphipolis, a city of Thrace, and other northern possessions. Philip, taking advantage of the Social War in which Athens was involved (B. C. 358), had taken Amphipolis, and also certain other places in Macedonia, Thessaly and Thrace, which belonged to Athens. Athens attempted in return to gain these back, but, after contending for this with but little success for eleven years, and despairing of any assistance from the other tribes of Greece, who were taken up with their own petty variances (§§ 18-21), she finally consented to make peace with him. For a fuller account of this whole subject, see Thirlw., Vol. II. pp. 66-128. — *Ἔστι δ' ἀναγκαῖον, κ. τ. λ.*] "But it is

necessary, O Athenians, and proper perhaps, to remind you how things were in those times, that you may contemplate each one of them in reference to the juncture in question," i. e. the making of the peace with Philip. *ὑπάρχων* is used both of the past and the present, according as the discourse is of the past or present. We also find *τότε* and *νῦν* with it sometimes, especially when the thing referred to had changed since some former period. See § 98: *οὐ φοβηθέντες τῆς τότε Θηβαίους ῥώμην καὶ δόξαν ὑπάρχουσας*, "the then existing" (though not now). Other participles are also used to designate the existence of things contemporaneous with the time of the speaker; as, *ὢν*, *παρὼν*, *ὑπὼν*, etc.; but they all have a different shade of meaning from *ὑπάρχων*. See § 1. note.

18. *Τοῦ γὰρ Φωκικοῦ συστάτος πολέμου*] The war here alluded to is better known under the name of the Second Sacred War. The Phocians had taken possession of, and subjected to cultivation, a portion of land in the vicinity of Delphi, consecrated to Apollo, and doomed by a decree of the Amphictyons to lie forever waste. For this, at the instigation of the Thebans, they were threatened by the Amphictyons with the confiscation of their territory to the god whom they had robbed. Being rendered desperate by such a threat, they seized upon the temple of Apollo, and robbed it of its treasures, in order to obtain the means of defending themselves. At first the principal enemy they had to contend with was the Thebans, but afterwards these were joined by some Thesalian tribes, and finally by Philip. This war broke out in the year 355 B. C., and continued about ten years. See Thirlw., Ch. 43.—*οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔγωγε ἐπολιτευόμεν πω τότε*] "for not then as yet, as is well known (*δὴ*) was I engaged in proposing public measures." His first speech before the people, De Symmoriis, was made, according to Dissen, the year following the commencement of the war.—*πρῶτον μὲν ὑμεῖς ὥτιω διέκισθε*] The orator here uses the mildest terms possible, on account of the popular feeling towards the

Phocians for robbing the temple of Delphi. The fact is, however, that the Athenians, from their hatred to Philip, who, they saw, was fomenting the war against the Phocians for selfish purposes, early entered into an alliance with them, though they seem not to have taken any very active part in the war, other than to prevent the interference of Philip. — ἐν Λεύκτροις] “at Leuctra.” A small town in Boeotia, where the Thebans, under their general, Epaminondas, gained a great victory over the Spartans, which gave them the ascendancy among the tribes of Greece, and made them very haughty and overbearing. This ascendancy had been enjoyed successively by Sparta, by Athens, and now by Thebes. — ἐπειθ’ . . . παραχῇ] “Besides, all Peloponnesus had become divided, and neither were those hating the Lacedaemonians strong enough to subdue them, nor were those formerly supported in power by them (lit. ruling by means of them) masters of the cities; but there was both among these and all the other states a certain interminable strife and commotion.” The state of things here described is that which existed in Greece some fifty years after the Peloponnesian war; when Sparta had been humbled by Thebes, and was but just able to maintain her ascendancy in the Peloponnesus without extending her ambition to other parts of Greece, and Thebes was looked upon with distrust both by Sparta and Athens. By the enemies of Sparta in the Peloponnesus here alluded to were meant, more especially, the Messenians, the Arcadians, and the Argives; the three principal states in that peninsula besides Sparta, with which she was engaged in a constant struggle in order to keep them in proper subordination. When at the height of her power, at the close of the Peloponnesian war, she had established in these and all other cities which fell into her hands her favorite form of oligarchical government, called δεκαδαρχία or δεκαρχία, by promoting to power, in each place, ten citizens the most devoted to her interests. For the character and working of these unnatural governments, see Isoc. Panegy. pp. 63, 64. Compare also

Herm. Polit. Antiq., § 39, 7 and 8. These, however, now, during her humiliation, they had succeeded in expelling, though they were not as yet able to gain any absolute ascendancy over their former tyrannical mistress. This statement will sufficiently explain the passage under consideration.

19. τοῖς παρ' ἐκάστοις . . . ἐφύετο] "lavishing treasures upon the traitors in each State, he set them all by the ears, and stirred them up against each other; then, while the others (i. e. the other Greeks besides the Athenians) were remiss in their duty (i. e. to come to the aid of Athens, in bringing her contest with Philip to a successful close, and thus preventing his encroachments upon Grecian interests), and were quarreling among themselves, he was preparing himself and increasing in power against all." αὐτοὺς is the reflexive for the reciprocal pronoun (K. § 302. 7). The treasures here spoken of, by which Philip purchased adherents and advocates in every State, were obtained from the mining district of Pangaeus, in Thrace, which he had obtained possession of by his northern conquests. In that corrupt age, in which almost every man could be bought, they were of great service to him in prosecuting his designs against Greece. — οἱ τότε . . . Θεβαῖοι] "the then overbearing, but now unfortunate Thebans." The change in the condition of the Thebans here mentioned was occasioned by the destruction of Thebes by Alexander, the son and successor of Philip; who, on account of their attempt to throw off the Macedonian yoke, had (335 B. C.) razed the city to the ground, and sold the inhabitants as slaves. The times here contrasted were that of the Phocian war, and that of the delivery of this oration. At the former period, the Thebans were at the height of their power, it being not long after the battle of Leuctra. But since that event some twenty-five years or more had passed, during which Thebes had been gradually losing power, till she finally met with this overthrow from Alexander. In order to make out this interval between the two periods, I place the time of the delivery of this oration, with most critics, about eight years after the prosecution which

called it forth was first instituted. It was thus deferred by the prosecutor, as is supposed, in order to obtain a more favorable opportunity for succeeding in his cause; which at length was thought to offer itself, when the Macedonian arms had completely triumphed in Greece under Alexander. It was at this juncture, therefore, that it was brought on for a final decision, though first moved soon after the battle of Chæronea. — *αἱ πόλεις*] Athens and Thebes. The Thebans, being hard pressed by the Phocians, would very naturally look to the Athenians for aid, since they were near at hand, and, though not particularly friendly, still were apparently no further interested in the war than to prevent the interference of Philip, with whom they were in a state of hostility. The wily king, therefore, threw them a sop, by offering them peace, and turned and joined himself to the Thebans against the Phocians.

20. *Τί οὖν . . . εἰπεῖν*] “What then coöperated with him for taking you almost his willing dupes? (What contributed to his finding you so ready to listen to his proposals?) *The* of the other Greeks — (I hardly know whether it is proper to call it cowardice or ignorance, or both these together).” *ὀλίγον δεῖν* expresses a limitation, and properly depends upon *ὡς* understood. K. § 341, R. 3. — *ὡς ἔργῳ φανερόν γεγρονεν*] “as has become evident from the issue.” By the issue here alluded to, as showing that the struggle against Philip, so long maintained by Athens, was for the common interest of Greece, is meant the subsequent course of Philip, who, having quieted the Athenians by offering them peace, proceeded to subjugate the Phocians, and then, in turn, the other tribes of Greece. — *συγχωρηθεῖσα*] “agreed upon.” — *τὰ δὲ τούτων . . . ἀντὶ*] “but the wrong-doings and corruptions of these in making it.” *τούτων* refers to Æschines and his party, who might not have all been present, but were spoken of thus as a well known clique opposed to Demosthenes.

21. *Καὶ παντὶ πάνθ' . . . διεξέρχομαι*] “And all these, for the sake of the truth, I am going accurately to examine and set forth.” For this fut. use of the pres., see K. § 255,

R. 4. We have here another instance of oratorical pleonasm for the purpose of fulness or emphasis. Such expressions are far from being mere tautology. When used with skill and moderation, as is generally the case with Demosthenes, and not to excess and merely for the sake of rhythm, as is often done by Cicero, the different words always present the idea under different aspects; the one being more general and the other more special, the one stronger and the other weaker, the one simple and the other figurative, or with some such difference. Dissen has collected the following instances from this oration, which it may be worth while to copy here: ἀξιώ καὶ δέομαι, § 6; ἐτραγώδει καὶ δειξήει, § 13; κατενέδον καὶ διέβαλλες, § 11; βοᾶν καὶ διαμαρτυρεσθαι, § 23; δηλοῦν καὶ διορίζεσθαι, § 40; προὔλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην, § 45; οὐκ ὀνειδίζειν οὐδὲ λοιδορεῖσθαι, § 276; λοιδορούμενος καὶ διασύρων, § 180; πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεισθαι, § 31; προορώμενος καὶ λογιζόμενος, § 27; μηδ' ὅτιοῦν προορᾶν μηδ' αἰσθάνεσθαι, § 40; εἰδώς καὶ ἑωρακώς, § 248; βοᾶν καὶ κεκραγώς, § 132; εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαι, § 33; ζώντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ ὄντων, § 72; ἐδίδαξας καὶ διεξήλθες, § 22; διέβαλλε καὶ δειξήει, § 14. — Εἰ γὰρ . . . πρὸς ἐμέ] "For if any wrong-doing, however great (τὰ μάλιστα), should appear in these transactions, surely it pertains in no respect to me." τὰ μάλιστα here is used as in Xen. Apol. § 18: ὅτε τὰ μάλιστα ἡ πόλις εὐδαιμονεῖ; also Orat. adv. Leptin. § 2. i. e. it is an adverbial acc. expressing quantity. K. § 279, R. 8. See also § 95. How any wrong-doing in making the peace could have nothing to do with him the orator proceeds to show, by stating, first, who suggested it, then who took up the suggestion and formally proposed the measure (ἐκδεξάμενος καὶ γράψας), and then those who helped these carry the measure through (οἱ δὲ συνειπόντες). — οὐδ' ἂν σὺ διαρρήγης ψευδόμενος] "not even if you split lying." Referring to the earnestness with which he had endeavored to prove an intimacy and concert of action in this matter between Demosthenes and Philocrates. — ὅτου δήποτε ἔνεκα,] "for whatever reason,"

i. e. for some reasons which he could not stop or did not care to state. For the force of *δήποτε* in such cases, see K. § 95, (b). — With regard to the individuals mentioned in different parts of this paragraph, not much is known of most of them; only that they were public men at that time of some prominence at Athens, and belonged to the party devoted to the interests of Philip. Eubulus was the most prominent of the number, and exerted an influence in favor of Philip but little inferior to that exerted by Æschines. Comp. Herm. Polit. Antiq. § 178, 11. One of them, it will be observed, was an actor, which shows that this class of men were held in more estimation then than they are now; perhaps on account of the greater respectability of the profession at that time, but principally, without doubt, on account of the greater demand there was for a popular mode of address in those who were engaged in the management of public affairs.

22. *ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας*]. “in accordance with the truth itself.” The charge alluded to in what follows was connected with the general charge, brought against him by Æschines, of being the author of the peace. It was, that he was so anxious to conclude a peace with Philip, and urged it forward so precipitately, that there was not time for the delegates who had been sent for from the other States of Greece, to form a common alliance against him, to arrive before it was concluded. — *ὥς ἄρα*] “that forsooth, if any one will believe it.” It usually implies contempt or disbelief of the statement it introduces. See § 13; also Pop. Orat. of Dem. VIII. § 4. note. — *Εἰς ὧ . . . διεξήλθες* ;] “Then, O — (what uttering could any one address you appropriately?) is there anywhere that you, being present, seeing me depriving the city of so important a transaction and alliance as you just now described, manifested your indignation, or, coming forward, stated and explained these things which you now charge me with?” The first line of this passage presents an instance of a species of *aposiopesis*, of which there are several other examples in this oration. The figure here consists in stopping short when about to designate Æschines, and, instead of applying any epithet to him, signi-

fying his inability to find one sufficiently opprobrious fitly to describe his character. And this seems a suitable place to remark, that Demosthenes abounds much more in *figures* than in *tropes*; more in those turns of thought which affect the structure of the sentence, called by the Greeks *σχήματα*, than in those which concern the application of words. This, indeed, is true to some extent of all the ancient orators, and may be considered as one of the characteristic distinctions between ancient and modern oratory. Oratory was much more cultivated as an art by the ancients than by the moderns, which gave a peculiar cast to their oratorical style, making it almost as unlike their historical or familiar style as poetry to prose. They paid great attention to the rhythm of their sentences, i. e. to such a distribution of the emphatic and the unemphatic words as to produce a regular rising and falling in their sentences, or an harmonious flow. It follows from this, that striking modes of address, and artificial turns of sentences, would be much more likely to find a place in ancient than in modern oratory. However, even these do not very much abound in Demosthenes;—more than any other orator, probably, whether ancient or modern, he depended for success upon a thorough discussion, and a forcible and vivid presentation of the whole subject to his hearers.

23. *Καὶ μὴν . . . λοιπὸν ἦν*] “And truly, if I had sold to Philip the preventing of the union of the Greeks, it remained to you not to be silent.” The refutation here given of the charge is drawn from the fact that Æschines did not accuse him of it at the time. — *τούτοις*] “to these,” i. e. the Athenians. — *οὔτε γὰρ . . . ἐξεληλεγμένοι*] “for neither was an embassy sent at that time to any of the Greeks, but, long before, all had been proved indifferent.” Hence there was no motive for sending to them. The discrepancy between the statements of the rival orators on this point is rendered still more difficult of reconciliation by an expression of Demosthenes (F. L., p. 345), which recognizes the presence of certain ambassadors from other States on the occasion of making the

peace. But this difficulty is obviated, by supposing that the ambassadors there referred to were merely the deputies of the *allies* of Athens, while Æschines pretended that deputies were expected also from the States not in alliance, so as to form a general alliance. See Thirlw., Vol. II., p. 120.

24. He now proceeds to a direct refutation of the charge by an argument drawn from the nature of the case. After stating in plain language the inconsistency implied in the charge, he finally shows its absurdity by an oratorical syllogism or *enthymem*, which, at the same time, he contrives to enliven, by throwing it into the interrogative form. καὶ βουλόμενοι] “even wishing.” — αὐτοὶ δὲ] “but yourselves.” Opposed to τοὺς μὲν Ἕλληνας. — Εὐρυβάτου πρᾶγμα] “the deed of a Eurybatus.” A proverbial expression, denoting shameless treachery, having its origin in the treacherous conduct of a certain Ephesian by the name of Eurybatus, or Eurybates, as some have it. — Οὐκ οὔτε, κ. τ. λ.] “Therefore, I neither appear to be the original mover nor the cause of the peace, nor of the other things which he falsely charged upon me, is anything shown to be true.” For the various usages of οὐκ οὔτε or οὐκοῦν, see K. § 324, R. 7. The negative contained in this particle extends to the whole sentence, while that of οὔτε . . . οὔτε extends only to their respective clauses. For the participles with the verbs φαίνομαι and δείκνυται, see K. 310, 4, (b), and for the difference between their construction with participles and infinitives, see K. 311, 8 and 11.

25. βουλευών] “being a senator,” i. e. a member of the Senate of Five Hundred, with which all decrees originated. — πυνθάνωνται] This is preferable to the optat., since the precise words of the decree are quoted. — τοὺς ὅρκους] “the oaths,” i. e. the ratification, on his part, of the treaty of peace. — οὐδὲ γράφαντος ἐμοῦ ταῦτα] “not even after I had proposed these things.” K. § 312, 4, (a). — Τί δὲ τοῦτ’ ἡδύνατο] “But what could this effect?”

26. ὁ δὲ . . . ἐπαραματεύετο] “but he all the time was specially intent upon this,” i. e. that the Athenians should give

up all preparations for war. — ὅσα τῆς πόλεως] “whatever of what belonged to the city,” i. e. Athens, which, by the Athenians, like Rome by the Romans, was called, by way of eminence, *the city*. — ἔξειν] “should hold.” The fut. is often thus used in independent clauses. K. § 255, 3.

27. The Thracians, here spoken of as the allies of Athens, were those occupying the southern part of Thrace, the subjects of Cersobleptes, to whom the Athenians were under obligation on account of his having ceded to them the Cherroneus. The places named as having been ridiculed (διέσυνε) by Æschines belonged to his kingdom, and were situated near the mouth of the river Hebrus, and in the vicinity of the Sacred Mountain, as it was called, one of the most important military posts in all that region. Being seaports, they were accessible to the Athenian ships, which it was of great importance to Philip to exclude from the coast. Æschines in his speech (p. 65) had jumbled up these with several other similar names, in such a manner as to produce a ludicrous effect, and asserted that they were known, even in name, to Demosthenes alone. — οὕτω] “thus,” “under these circumstances,” i. e. while the Thracians were in possession of the strongholds alluded to. — τοὺς ἐπικαίρους τῶν τόπων,] “the favorably situated of the places.” The noun here, instead of agreeing in case with the adjective, is put in the gen. after it, as is often the case in Greek. K. § 264, R. 5, (a). — μηδὲ πολλῶν μὲν χρημάτων, κ. τ. λ.] “nor that having become possessed of much money and many men, by means of these might easily enter upon the other undertakings,” i. e. the conquest of Greece.

28. We have here an instance of the skill of Demosthenes in mingling the weak arguments with the strong. Having made out a very strong case in his favor relative to the embassy, he seizes the opportunity of bringing up in contrast with this the petty charge of his adversary (Adv. Ctesiph. § 76), founded upon the attentions which he had bestowed upon the ambassadors of Philip, who had recently visited

Athens to negotiate concerning the peace, in order to show his want of generosity in taunting him with the latter, while he gave him no credit for the former. There being no special minister of foreign affairs at Athens, the duty of receiving ambassadors devolved upon members of the Senate, and it was in this capacity, he says, that he entertained, and introduced to the assembly and the theatre, the ambassadors of Philip. — *θείαν*] “sight,” “place to see,” “seat in the theatre.” — *τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα*] “architect.” So called because he kept the theatre in repair. He was properly the *lessee of the theatre*, who, upon condition of receiving the entrance-money, agreed to keep it in repair and pay to the state a certain sum. See Boeckh, *Pub. Econ. Ath.*, Bk. II., 294. — *ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν*,] “in the sum of two oboli,” “by means of two oboli.” See *Soph. Antig.*, v. 764: *ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρᾶν*, “seeing with the eyes.” Or, perhaps, “in the two obols,” i. e. the common seats. Two obols was the regular price for admission to the theatre, which, however, were given from a public fund, called the *Theoricon*, to all who applied for it. See Boeckh, as above. — *τὰ δ' ὅλα*,] “the whole,” “the highest interests of the state.” — *Αἴε*] Addressed to the clerk. For the genuineness of this and the other documents found in this Oration, see Appendix.

29. *Ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Μνησιφίλου*] In the time of Demosthenes, the chief magistracy at Athens was filled by Archons. There were nine of these chosen annually, one of whom was called *the* Archon by way of eminence, and also Eponymus, because the year was named from him: all writings receiving for their date, as the decree now under consideration, the day and month of the archonship of such and such a one, instead of such and such a year. The month *Hecatombæon*, here mentioned, was the first in the Attic year; so called from its being the season of offering hecatombs. It corresponded to the last part of our July and the first part of August. As the different Athenian months are often mentioned in the course of the Oration, and as the order of their succession and their

relation to our months is a matter of some dispute among the learned, I subjoin here a list of them as arranged by the German chronologist, Ideler, taken from the supplement of Passow's Greek Lexicon. It should be observed, however, that, as their months were lunar, they were obliged every other year to introduce an intercalary month, which followed Poseideon, and was called Poseideon II.

Hecatombaeon 30 days — latter part of July and first of Aug.						
Metageitnion	29	"	—	"	Aug.	" Sept.
Boëdromion	30	"	—	"	Sept.	" Oct.
Pyanepsion	29	"	—	"	Oct.	" Nov.
Maemacterion	30	"	—	"	Nov.	" Dec.
Poseideon	29	"	—	"	Dec.	" Jan.
Gamelion	30	"	—	"	Jan.	" Feb.
Anthesterion	29	"	—	"	Feb.	" Mar.
Elaphebolion	30	"	—	"	Mar.	" April.
Munychion	29	"	—	"	April	" May.
Thargelion	30	"	—	"	May	" June.
Sciophorion	29	"	—	"	June	" July.

The phrase *ἐντὶ καὶ νέα* means, literally, *old and new*. This was a common designation for the last day of every month; probably from the months being lunar, and hence consisting of 29½ days each, while in the calendar they were reckoned, for the sake of convenience, as having alternately 29 and 30 days, giving to those of 30 days a half of a day more than properly belonged to them. Hence, the last day strictly belonged partly to the old and partly to the new month, which was indicated by the expression here quoted. And being once employed as a designation for the last day of the longer months, it would very naturally be applied, also, to the last day of the others. For the rest, it may be observed, that the first day of each month was called *νουμηνία*, and the second *δευτέρα ἱσταμένου* or *ἀρχομένου μηνός*; and so up to ten, repeating after each ordinal number *ἱσταμένου* or *ἀρχομένου μηνός* (*of the commencing month*). From ten to twenty, the same ordinal numbers, *πρώτη*, *δευτέρα*, etc., were placed before *μεσοῦντος μηνός* (*the middle of the month*), or before *ἐπὶ*

δεκάδι or *δέκα* (*in addition to a decade, or ten*). From twenty to the end of the month, either the same ordinal numbers were prefixed to *ἐπὶ εἰκάδι* or *εἴκοσι* (*in addition to twenty*); or the ordinals were inverted, beginning for twenty-one with *δεκάτη*, if the month had 30 days, and *ἐνάτη*, if it had but 29, and proceeding in an inverted order down to *δευτέρα*, affixing to each the words *φθίνοντος*, *πανομένου*, or *ἀπίνοντος μηνός* (*from the ceasing or close of the month*). — *φυλῆς προτανευσούσης*] “the presiding tribe.” The people of Attica were divided into ten tribes, and these again into a hundred, and afterwards into a hundred and seventy-four *demi* or boroughs. Each tribe had a name derived from some hero or mythic character connected with the nation, and in the time of Demosthenes were each represented in the Senate of Five Hundred by fifty senators. The delegation from each tribe undertook, in a regular order of succession, which they determined by lot, the presidency of the body, each for the space of 35 or 36 (in intercalary years 38 or 39) days. For this purpose each of the delegations elected from their own number, by lot, a president, called *ἐπιστάτης*, who was intrusted with the keys of the treasury and archive office, and with the state seal. His duty was to act as presiding officer in the Senate during the presidency of his tribe, and as the organ of the Senate in general, and of the presiding tribe in particular, in all matters of business. He originally, also, presided at the assemblies of the people, till the presidency of this body was assigned to nine *πρόεδροι*, appointed by himself, one out of each of the other nine tribes. This is Hermann’s view; but, according to another view of the subject, which may be found in Smith’s Dict. Antiq. (Art. *Βουλῇ*), the presiding tribe was divided into five sections of ten each (called *πρόεδροι*), which exercised the presidency in turn for seven days, and chose an *ἐπιστάτης* daily, while the *proœdri non contribules*, as they are called, exercised a very different function. The presiding tribe, besides presiding in the Senate and calling the assemblies of the people, acted as a committee of the

Senate, to transact the various kinds of business which devolved upon that body as a supreme court, while not in session. For this purpose this tribe was maintained at the public expense at the Prytaneum, where they spent nearly the whole time, so as to be ready to act with authority in the occurrences of the day which required their intervention. Comp. Herm. Polit. Antiq. § 127. — ὁμολογονμένας] “acknowledged,” “formally proposed.” — δεδόχθαι] “that it be decreed.” An infinitive depending upon εἰπεῖν above. — ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ] i. e. the first of the four regular assemblies held during each prytany. — ἐκ πάντων Ἀθηναίων] i. e. as a body, without regard to tribes. The patrial adjective belonging to each of the names of the ambassadors was to define the demus or borough to which each of them belonged, and where their names were originally registered as citizens. The list of ambassadors is defective and incorrect. See Appendix.

30. οἱ χρηστοὶ πρέσβεις οὗτοι] “these excellent ambassadors.” χρηστός is often used thus, ironically. See § 89: ἦν οὗτοι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τηροῦσιν οἱ χρηστοὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς μελλοῦσαις ἐλπίσιν — τρεῖς ὅλους μῆνας] This does not seem to be strictly true. It was nearly three months from the time the peace was voted to the time of the return of the ambassadors, but appears to have been but a little more than two, from the time of their actual departure from Athens to their return, — from Munychion 3d (B. C. 346) to Scirophorion 13th. See Æsch. F. L., p. 40, and Dem. F. L., p. 359. — ἦλθε] “returned.” He was absent on an expedition to Thrace when they arrived, and they waited there till his return. — εἴξον] “it being possible.” An accusative absolute, concerning which see K. § 312, 5. — τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον] The Thracian Cherronesus lying on the Hellespont, where Philip was engaged in reducing the places referred to above.

31. τοιοῦτον] That is, such as described above; — it refers both to κλέμμα and δωροδόκημα.

32. αὐτῶν . . . ἀπίωμεν] I retain this reading, in preference either to putting the pronoun in the first person or the

verb in the third, since Demosthenes means evidently to deny that he, though on the embassy, had anything to do with the transaction in question. This is perfectly in keeping with all that he says on the subject in his Oration on the False Legation. He there represents himself as having been extremely impatient of the delay, and even, on one occasion, as having hired a ship to return alone, but as being prevented by his colleagues. See especially p. 405, init., and p. 445, init. — *Πύλας*] *Thermopylae*. A narrow pass through the mountainous ridge separating Thessaly from Greece, presenting by far the most eligible route, and indeed almost the only one, from the northern regions to the south. Hence, if this was shut up against an enemy north of the mountains, his progress was effectually arrested. The occasion here alluded to, on which the Athenians closed this passage against Philip, was several years previous to the time of the peace here under discussion, in the early part of the Phocian war. Since that time he had occupied himself mostly in reducing Olympus, a powerful and independent city in the southern part of Macedonia, and at that time an ally of Athens.

33. *Οὕτω τουτονί*] “But Philip was in so much fear and anxiety, lest, even although he had taken these preliminary steps, you, having obtained information before the Phocians were destroyed, should vote to assist them, and his projects should fail of success, that he hires this despicable fellow here.” *οὕτω* is often thus separated from its word. See §§ 163, 220. I have restored the common reading here (instead of Bekker’s, which inserts *εἰ* before *πρό* and leaves out *ἀκούσαντες*, *αὐτοῖς*, and also *καὶ* before *ἐκφύγοι*), for what I consider sufficient reasons. In the first place, *εἰ* would require an *ἄν* in the corresponding clause (K. § 339, II. a.), which no MS. gives. Again, *μή*, expressing an end (*that* or *lest*), is generally used with the subjunctive and optative without *ἄν*, after verbs of *fear*, *anxiety*, etc. (Jelf’s Kühner, § 814). As to *αὐτοῖς*, though suspected by some, it seems to be required both by the connection and the laws of the language. See §§ 39, 292.

34. Ἀξιῶ, κ. τ. λ.] The reader will observe the tact with which the orator, on this and several other occasions, throws upon his opponent the blame of leading him into any discussions foreign to the subject.

35. ἔσται . . . Θηβαίων] “for all things will turn out as you wish, if you remain quiet, and within two or three days you will hear that he has become the friend of those against whom he comes an enemy, and, on the contrary, the enemy of those to whom he comes a friend. For not words, he said, confirm friendships, uttering it with all gravity, but community of interests; and that it is alike for the interest of Philip, and of the Phocians, and you all, to be freed from the stupidity and troublesomeness of the Thebans.” The change of feeling in Philip, which Æschines is here represented as persuading the Athenians to believe was about to take place, had reference to the Athenians and Thebans. He had excited his countrymen to hope, that, from what he knew of Philip’s character and intentions, they had nothing to fear from him; but that he would very naturally become their friend, and the enemy of Thebes, as soon as he became acquainted with the true character and relations of the two nations. It will be seen from this, as well as the following passage, that the Thebans were very much disliked at Athens. This arose in part, as has already been stated, from the tyrannical manner in which they exercised the superiority they gained at Leuctra; and in part, from their betraying the liberties of Greece in the Persian war, which was always remembered against them; and in part, on account of their stupidity and want of genius.

36. καὶ ἐτι . . . Φιλίππῳ] “and even besides these things, that the hatred (formerly felt) towards the Thebans and Thes-salians fell to the city, and the gratitude felt on account of what had been done fell to Philip.” The destruction of the Phocians was a popular thing among many of the tribes of Greece, on account of the horror with which they were looked upon for violating the temple of Apollo, and appropriating

to themselves so unscrupulously the common offerings of the Greeks deposited there. Philip, therefore, gained favor with many by subduing them, and the Athenians incurred odium with the same by opposing him; since it could easily be said, that in opposing him they were sustaining the Phocians in their impiety.

37. *συγκλήτου . . . γνώμη*] “at an assembly called by the generals, with the approbation both of the prytanes and the Senate.” During each prytany, or the term for which each tribe presided, there were either three or four regular assemblies; any others which it was necessary to have during this time were extraordinary, and might be called either by the generals or by the prytanes, according as their object was to consult on military or civil affairs. This was naturally called by the generals, as it was in order to take precautionary measures against an invasion of Attica by Philip. “This measure,” says Thirlwall (Vol. II., p. 126), “was no doubt less an effect of a real panic, than a burst of ill-humor, which it would have been wiser to suppress.”

38. *περὶ δὲ . . . Βουλῆς*] “but concerning the impossibility, let the general of the infantry, and the commissary, and the clerk of the Senate, judge.” It would seem from this place, compared with the two decrees in §§ 115 and 116, that at this time only three out of the ten generals were usually engaged in actual service. See [Philip. I. § 26. Compare, also, Herm. Polit. Antiq., § 153, 12, 13. Of these three, one commanded the cavalry, one the infantry, and one provided for the wants of the army while in service; the last two of which are here referred to. They, with the secretary of the Senate, were appointed in the present emergency, as a kind of court, to judge of the validity of the excuses of those who refused to obey the directions given in the decree. For the meaning of *ὅπλων* in the sense of *ὀπλιτῶν*, see note § 115. — *ἔπειτα Καλλισθένης Φαληρεὺς*] This statement is to be regarded as made by the proposer himself; but that at the first

part of the decree as made by the clerk of the assembly in recording the decree.

39. This letter was written soon after the passing of the above decree, for the purpose of warning the Athenians against taking any measures to assist the Phocians, in which light he seems to have regarded the military movements above referred to. It has a calm and confident air about it, which shows that he felt his superiority. — τὰ κατὰ τὴν Φωκίδα] “what pertains to Phocis,” “the cities of Phocis.” — εἰσαγωγότας] One form of the perf. act. part. of εἰσάγω. K. § 124, 2, (a). Observe that these introductory clauses employ participles like infinitives to complete the verbal idea of ἴστα, but the concluding clause of the sentence takes the finite verb. Schäffer shows that this is not uncommon in Greek authors, from Homer downward. See, also, Jelf’s Kühner, §§ 759, Obs. 4, and 765, 2. — Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ὅλοις] “for on the whole.” A phrase very similar in meaning to καθ’ ὅλον, found in another letter of Philip, § 77. — μέτριον] “moderate,” “reasonable.” — Ὡστε εἰάν, κ. τ. λ.] “So that, if you do not abide by your stipulations, you will get the start of me in nothing except in being the first transgressors.”

40. Τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τούτων ᾗχετο ἐκείνους λαβὼν] “Accordingly by these means he went on bearing them away,” i. e. deceived them, blinded them. See F. L. § 22; also K. § 310, 4, (1). I have restored Θεβαῖοι to the text after ταλαίπωροι, since without it this word would naturally be referred to the Thessalians as well as Thebans.

41. συναργός καὶ συναγωνιστής] “fellow-procurer and promoter.” These nouns, besides the gen., take also the dat. by the force of σύν. This is a favorite construction with Demosthenes, since it promotes condensation. — καὶ γεωργῶν τὰ ἐκείνων] “and cultivating their soil.” — ὃς εὐθύς, κ. τ. λ.] “who was immediately demanded by him who did these things,” i. e. by Alexander, who, on the destruction of Thebes, sent to Athens, demanding, as a condition of her own safety, nine of the leading anti-Macedonian orators, of whom Demosthenes

was one. *Æschines*, in his speech (§ 157), had made a great show of sympathy for the Thebans, and rehearsed their calamities in a very touching manner, as being caused, according to his view of the case, by *Demosthenes*. On the contrary, *Demosthenes*, in this passage, by placing in contrast the manner in which their downfall affected him and his antagonist respectively, endeavors to make it appear that his sympathy was wholly feigned, and that he himself has vastly more reason for regretting that event than his adversary. *Æschines*, for his services in the cause of Philip and his successor, Alexander, which eventually led to the destruction of the Thebans, had been presented with possessions in their country, by the masters whom he served; but he, by resisting them, had exposed himself to their indignation, and had actually been demanded for execution.

42. *Ἀλλὰ γὰρ*] These particles, coming together thus, always denote a correction or checking of one's self or another. Sometimes the verb expressing the correction is expressed, and sometimes it is understood, as here. An illustration of both usages may be found in *Soph. Antig.*, within a few lines of each other, vv. 148 and 155. — *δὲ*] used thus often in resuming a subject. See *Dem. Pop. Orat. IV. § 21*.

43. *Ῥμεις δὲ . . . ὁμως*] "But you, looking with suspicion upon what had been done, and being indignant, nevertheless kept the peace;" i. e. the peace before referred to, which was concluded with Philip just before the destruction of Phocis. — *Καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι . . . πολεμούμενοι*] "And the other Greeks, also, having been deceived equally with you, and having failed of what they hoped for, gladly kept the peace, although, in a certain sense, being themselves made war upon for a long time." For *καί . . . δέ*, "and also," see *K. § 322, R. 7*; and for the acc. *τρόπον τινά*, § 279, *R. 3*. The Athenians, and many other Grecian states, seem to have been led, by the representations of *Æschines* on returning from the second embassy, to expect that Philip, after chastising Phocis for her impiety, was about to humble Thebes. This the Athe-

nians in particular expected he would do, by restoring to their freedom the Bœotian towns, which the Thebans, during their recent prosperous career, had reduced under their power. When, therefore, he proceeded to unite his arms with those of Thebes, not simply for the chastisement, but for the total destruction of Phocis, her enemy and rival; and besides, to confirm Thebes in her possession of the Bœotian towns, and even to put her in possession of a part of the territory of Phocis, they discovered that they had been imposed upon, and were disappointed in their expectations. But notwithstanding this, and his continued course of unjust encroachments upon Grecian interests, as Demosthenes here states, they preserved peace with him: the Athenians, because they could effect nothing alone by an open rupture, and the other states from indifference, being contented with peace themselves, however much the interests of Greece at large might suffer. This selfish indifference, this want of an enlarged patriotism embracing everything that was Grecian, is what Demosthenes complains of in this and the following passages, as well as in other parts of the Oration.

44. *Ὅτε γὰρ περὶ ὃν Φίλιππος*] “For when Philip going around,” i. e. extending his conquests in different directions. Of the two tribes here mentioned, the first was situated on the north of Macedonia, and the last belonged to Thrace. — *ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐξουσίᾳ βαδίζοντες*] “going thither (i. e. where Philip was) under license of the peace.”

45, *ἕτερος λόγος οὗτος*] “this is another’s account.” — *αἱ δὲ πόλεις . . . αἰσθέσθαι*] “But the cities were diseased, those employed in the political and administrative departments being bribed and corrupted by gold, while the private citizens and the multitude, in part did not foresee, and in part were caught with the bait of the present ease and quiet, and all had some such delusion as this, viz. each thought that the calamity would not fall upon themselves, but that, by means of the dangers of others, they should hold securely their own interests, whenever they wished.” The genitives absolute in the latter

part of this sentence depend upon the verb *ἐνόουν*, they being introduced to describe the state of things implied in that verb. *πολλῶν*, being employed here in the sense of "the many," would regularly have the article, but, as it stands in close connection with *ἰδιωτῶν*, which has the article, it is omitted. K. § 245, 2. In *πλὴν οὐκ* (lit. "except not"), *οὐκ* is used idiomatically, same as it often is after the comparative particle *ἤ*. K. § 318, R. 7. *σχήσειν*, a rare form for *ἔξειν*; but both forms are used indiscriminately by Demosthenes, as will be seen by referring to the following pages in different orations, viz. pp. 13, 45, 61, 209, and 284. But *ἔξω* usually has more strictly the meaning "to have."

46. *Εἴτ' αἰσθέσθαι*] "Then, I think, it has happened to the masses, instead of the much and unseasonable ease, to perceive that they have lost their liberty, but to the public men and those thinking to sell all else except themselves, that they have bartered away themselves first." *πεπρακόσι* is in the dat. from the influence of the object of *συμβέβηκε*, which is also the subject of *αἰσθέσθαι*. K. § 310, 2. — *ἀκούουσιν*] "hear themselves called," "are esteemed." K. § 240, 2, (e).

47. *οὐδ' ἐπειδὰν . . . προδότου*] "nor when he may have become master of what he has purchased does he any longer employ the traitor as counsellor concerning the remainder; for (were this the case) nothing would be more fortunate than a traitor." An analysis of this sentence will furnish an illustration of several important laws of the language. First, we have two subordinate clauses, one adverbial and the other adjectival, each with *ἄν* and the subj., to represent the statement in each case as something conditioned and indefinite; K. §§ 337, 5, and 333, 3; and then the principal clause, which is followed by the principal clause of a conditional adverbial sentence (having, however, a coördinate connection with the preceding sentences) of which the condition is suppressed. K. § 340, 1. Observe, too, the use of *οὐδέν* instead of *οὐδεῖς*, in order to make the assertion more comprehensive. — *πόθεν*;] "how can it be so?" Implying very strongly that it could

not be so. — *Πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ*] “It even wants much of it, indeed.” “Very far from it, indeed.” — *Ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴν . . . καταστῇ*] “But when he who aspires to the supremacy may have established himself master of affairs.” *τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγκρατῆς* means very much the same as *potitus rerum*.

48. *καὶ γὰρ . . . εὖ φρονοῦσιν*] “for if the time of these events has passed, at least the time of understanding such things is always present to the wise.” Observe the use of *καιρός*, of the “proper time,” “a particular point of time,” distinct from *χρόνος*, of “time in its duration.” Also, of *εἰδέ-ναι*, “to know by reflection,” “to understand,” distinct from *γινώσκειν*, “to perceive,” “mark.” *εὖ φρονοῦσιν* followed by a dat. would mean “to be well disposed.” The individuals named in the following sentences were traitors, whom Philip had employed in the different states, and, when he had accomplished his purposes, cast off as useless. — *Ἐλτ’ ἐλαυνομένων, κ. τ. λ.*] “Then the whole habitable world was full of traitors rejected and insulted and suffering what not of evil.” The use of *πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη* here throws some light upon the use of this phrase, Luke ii. 1. For *τί κακὸν οὐχί*, see K. § 344, R. 6.

49. *Ἐξ ὧν, κ. τ. λ.*] “From which facts any one might see even most plainly, that he who guards his country most, and opposes these (traitors) most, this one, Æschines, procures for you traitors and hirelings, the having the means whereby you shall receive bribes; and that through the great mass of these (i. e. the Athenian citizens) and those opposing your designs, you are safe and paid, since, if left to yourselves, you would have perished long ago,” i. e. by betraying the state to Philip, as they desired to, and then, like other traitors, being rejected and rendered outcasts. But they had been kept from this end by the patriotism of those who prevented the success of their treachery, and thus prevented them from completing their work and being discharged and cast aside as useless tools by their master.

50. *Καὶ*] “although.” Often found thus in conjunction

with a participle expressing a concession. K. § 312, R. 8. The *καί* in the following line means "even," and *εἰρησθαι* is governed by *ἱκανῶν*. K. § 306, 1, (c). — *Αἴτιος δ' . . . μισθοαρτίαν*] "But this man is chargeable (i. e. for the speaker's having said so much), having bespattered me with a kind of stale mixture, as it were, of his own depravity and evil-doings, which, to those younger than the events referred to, it was necessary to clear myself of. But you, perhaps, have been wearied, who, even before I said anything whatsoever, knew of his serving for hire at that time." I have rendered *ἐωλοκρασίαν* "a stale mixture," it being compounded of *ἐωλος*, "pertaining to yesterday," hence "old," "stale," and *κράσις*, "mixture." The reference seem to have been to the remoteness of the events alluded to, and the triteness of the charges founded upon them, as they related to the earliest part of his political course, and had been oft repeated by his opponent. This accusative (*ἐωλοκρασίαν*), together with *μοῦ*, is governed by *κατασκεδάσας*, in the sense "to cast upon" (= *charge upon*), which it has in this place.

52. *δοκεῖ μισθωτός*] In some editions this noun is found with the accent on the antepenult, instead of the ultima, where it properly belongs, in order to conform to the statement of Ulpian, that the orator purposely put the accent on the wrong syllable, with the design of eliciting a repetition of the word from his hearers, who, on account of the extreme delicacy of their ear to the harmony of language, were accustomed to correct such mistakes in pronunciation. But this story is not adopted by the most judicious critics; as the artifice seems too trivial to be ascribed to Demosthenes, and, indeed, could have availed nothing, as it would have been apparent for what purpose the cry of *hireling* was raised by the multitude. This call upon his hearers, however, to respond to his charge of corruption against his adversary, does manifest great confidence in the agreement of their views of his character with his own; and the perception that he had, by the clear evidence and lively description which he had given of his cor-

ruption, made a favorable impression upon their minds, which he wished to render permanent, by inducing them, in the enthusiasm of the moment, to express it in words. The whole of this last paragraph is as fine a specimen of keen and lively raillery as can be found, perhaps, in any language, and forms a suitable close to the first general division of the speech. Having completed the examination of the charges foreign from the indictment, he commences, in the next paragraph, an examination of those contained in the indictment.

53. *ἵνα καίπερ . . . τυγχάνειν*] “that Æschines, although knowing, nevertheless may hear, on account of what I say, that I am worthy to receive both these rewards decreed by the Senate (i. e. in the decree of Ctesiphon), and even by far greater rewards than these.”

54. *ἀπήνεγκε . . . γρουφήν*] “laid before the archon an indictment for illegal measures.” By the archon here alluded to is meant, probably, the first archon See § 29. The principal business of the archons was to receive complaints concerning crimes, and bring them before the courts for trial; and, indeed, in many cases, to conduct, themselves, the trial on the part of the state. Comp. Herm. Polit. Antiq. § 138. Such cases as this were commonly laid before the Thesmothes, but occasionally, as it appears, before the chief archon. — *ὡς ἄρα*] “that indeed, or to the effect that.” For this usage of *ὡς ἄρα* see § 73. It is different from that noticed in § 22. — *καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι . . . ὁ δῆμος*] “and to proclaim in the theatre at the great Dionysiac festival, at the contest of the new actors, that the people crown.” In explanation of this passage it may be stated that there were at least three different festivals of Dionysus or Bacchus in Attica; the Greater, the Lesser, or country Dionysia, and the Lenææ. The first of these was the most splendid and the best attended, it being open to all the allies of Athens, and even to foreigners. At this only new pieces were represented, in the representation of which, consequently, the actors appeared in new characters, and were hence called new actors; while at the second, only old ones

were represented; and at the last, both new and old, as might happen. Comp. Müller's Greek Literature, Vol. I. p. 296, note.

55. *εἰτα τὸν ὑπεύθυνον στεφανοῦν*] “in the second place (not permitting) to crown one undischarged of his accounts of office.” The infinitive in this passage depends upon *εἰόντων* above, and so does the infinitive *ἀναγορεύειν* below. — *ἔστι δὲ . . . τεταγμένος*] “but Demosthenes is repairer of the walls, and superintendent of the theoric fund.” He was appointed to superintend the repairing of the walls of Athens immediately after the battle of Chæronea, or at least was one of the committee for repairing the walls for that year, and had not been discharged from this office by passing his accounts before the Logistæ when this prosecution was first instituted. He also was superintendent or treasurer of the theoric fund, designed to pay the fees of such as wished to attend the theatre, but had not the means of paying for their admission. It was a large fund, and therefore involved no inconsiderable pecuniary responsibility. — *Πνυκνὶ*] The dative of *πνύξ*, “Pnyx,” the *ν* being transposed in the nominative for the sake of euphony. It was the place where the assembly of the people met, and took its name from *πυκνός*, “thick,” the people being crowded together there. — *Τίμημα τάλαντα πενήκοντα*] “Penalty fifty talents.” An immense sum, if we consider that the Attic talent of silver amounted to more than a thousand dollars, and the gold talent to about ten times that sum. The reason of fixing the penalty so high was to render it impossible for him to pay it, if convicted; and thus, according to a standing law, to deprive him of all his political privileges, or to fix upon him what was called the *ἀτιμία* or *public disgrace*, which had this effect. Comp. Herm. Polit. Antiq. § 124, 9. — *Κλήτορες*, “witnesses”; i. e. of his having summoned the defendant to appear and answer to the charge. This indictment, it will be perceived, contains three charges. (1.) That the statements relative to the character and services of Demosthenes were false. (2.) That he was legally disqualified

for receiving the honor proposed to be bestowed upon him, by the holding of certain offices. (3) That the proposed mode of conferring the honor was illegal. These points Demosthenes now proceeds to deduce, and then replies to them in the order in which they here stand.

56. Ἐγὼ δ' . . . ἀπολογήσομαι] "But from these very charges, I think I shall make it evident to you at the outset that I shall defend myself justly in all things." *πρῶτον*, when it means "in the first place," "the first in a series," takes *μέν* with it; see § 1; but without this particle it means simply "first of all," "at the outset"; since the absence of *μέν* shows that a succession of particulars is not intended. See § 141.—*τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν . . . τάξιν*] i. e. the same which Æschines had followed in his indictment, but not the same which he had followed in his speech. By this inadvertency of Æschines, Demosthenes gains the advantage of such an arrangement of topics as he desired, while he conforms all that the rules of fair discussion require.

57. Τοῦ μὲν . . . τομίζω] "Therefore, of the proposing (i. e. by Ctesiphon in his decree) that I continually do and say the best things for the people, and am zealous to do whatever good I can, and to praise me for these things, I think the test lies in my public life." All the first part of the sentence, it will be perceived, is used as a noun in the genitive, and is governed by *κρίσιν*.

58. Τὸ δὲ μὴ . . . πεπολιτευμένοις] "But as to his not adding, to crown, 'when he shall have rendered up his accounts,' and his directing to proclaim the crown in the theatre, I think that this also has to do with my public life." — *ἐν τοῦτοις*] "among these," i. e. the people of Athens, who were assembled in large numbers at the great Dionysiac festival. The *καὶ* after *εἴτε* was added to this member, according to Dissen, in order to show that the speaker viewed it as the least probable of the two suppositions. See Hom. II. II. 349. — *δεικτέον εἶναί μοι*] "I must show." K. §§ 241, 3, and 284, 3, (12).

59. Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις καὶ λόγους] "Grecian doings and sayings," i. e. those which pertained to Greece at large, and not simply to Athens. All his measures in opposing Philip he considers of this nature, i. e. all enumerated to § 102. — ὁ γὰρ, κ. τ. λ.] "for he who prosecutes (the statement) of the decree, that I do and say the best things, and has indicted these things as not true," etc. Strictly speaking, the whole phrase, τὸ λέγειν, . . . με, is a noun governing ψηφίσματος. — Εἶτα καὶ . . . ἐγώ] "Then, there being many departments of the constitution or administration, I chose that which had reference to Grecian doings," i. e. the foreign department of the government. Amidst the general dissensions and jealousies of the different tribes, he chose to devote himself to the foreign relations of the state; in order, if possible, by a high-minded and generous policy towards the other states, to promote a spirit of union, and thus prevent a universal overthrow of the liberties of Greece. And such a line of policy, he contends, was in perfect keeping with, and, indeed, absolutely demanded by, the past history of Athens.

60. Ἄ μὲν οὖν] Demosthenes commences here, at the point where he considers himself responsible for the foreign policy of the city, inasmuch as from this time he gave the direction to this department of the policy. The point to which he refers is the renewal of hostilities with Philip, after the peace before alluded to. To this course he aroused the people, and is willing to meet the responsibility of it; but for previous measures and disasters, which his antagonist had charged upon him, he holds that he is not accountable. He thus passes over, with the remarks which have preceded, the first two periods during which Æschines had examined his career, as being irrelevant to the present cause, and commences with the third. — ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω . . . ὑπειπών] "these I will recall, and of these I will subjoin an account, having premised thus much," i. e. what follows as far as § 62. τοσοῦτος, though generally referring to what precedes, often refers to what follows. So, § 124, τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσας; also,

Xen. Anab. I. 3, 14, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Κλέαρχος εἶπε τοσοῦτον. K. § 303, R. 1.

61. φορὰν] “harvest,” “rush,” “multitude.” See § 271, where it means “force of circumstances”; also Plato, Gorg. 451, C, where it refers to the motion of the heavenly bodies. — οὓς συναγωνιστάς, κ. τ. λ.] “whom having taken as coadjutors and fellow-laborers, he rendered yet more disaffected the Greeks, even before ill-disposed towards each other and divided into factions, by deceiving some, giving to others, and corrupting others in every way, and divided them into many parties, to all of whom there was one interest, to prevent him (Philip) from becoming powerful.” χεῖρον is found in the neuter here, and not in agreement with Ἑλλήνας, because it expresses an adverbial idea, or refers to its noun in a very general way. K. § 241, 2.

62. πρᾶττειν καὶ ποιεῖν] Schäffer says, “Pleonasmus est oratorius, ne putes discrimen significationis inter hæc verba intercedere.” But see § 4, n. — ὁ γὰρ . . . εἰμὶ ἐγώ] “for I am he who placed himself at this point of the administration,” i. e. in the foreign department of the state. See § 59, n. πολιτείας is a partitive gen. depending upon ἐπαυθα.

63. Πότερον . . . γιγνόμενα] “Whether, O Æschines, was it fitting for her, relinquishing her own proper spirit and dignity, in the rank of Thessalians and Delopians, to assist Philip in obtaining the supremacy of the Greeks, and to annul the honors and rights of our ancestors? or if not to do this (for this truly were horrible), yet to allow to take place what it perceived and foresaw, we must suppose, for a long time, was about to take place, if no one should prevent?” The rank formerly held by Athens among the tribes of Greece, especially during the Persian war, was that of leader and guide to the rest; so that she stood as the acknowledged head of them all, both in civilization and refinement. Demosthenes contends, therefore, that she could not, consistently with her past history, have descended from this lofty position in the contest with Philip, and put herself on a level with the

rudest and meanest tribes, by joining with them in helping him subjugate Greece. *ὥς ἔοικεν* has an ironical meaning here, something like *οἶμαι*, § 46.

64. *ἐβούλετ'*] This is also found with the augment *η* in Demosthenes. See § 101; also Pop. Orat. II. § 15. — *συναίτιος*] This is an adjective agreeing with *μερίδος*, to be supplied from the preceding line, and, taken with the words in connection, may be rendered, "whether of that party which shared in causing the evils and disgraces which have befallen the Greeks," etc. Like *αἴτιος*, its primitive, it governs the genitive, and takes also the dative of the person or thing participated with, by virtue of the *σύν* with which it is compounded. In the present instance, the dative to be supplied is *Φιλίππῳ*. — *πλεονεξίας*] "advantage." The advantage which the states here alluded to hoped to gain from presenting no opposition to Philip was, that he would protect them against Sparta, and perhaps enable them to subdue this tyrannical state. For these were the hopes which he held out to them, and they were effectual in securing their acquiescence in his measures.

65. *χεῖρον ἤμῶν ἀπηλλαχάσιν*] "have come off worse than we." — *Καὶ γὰρ*] "and for," the *γὰρ* referring to a clause understood, which *καὶ* is designed to introduce, meaning "for this reason," or something of that sort. When these two particles stand together, strictly there is always something understood, which the first is designed to introduce, and the other to confirm, i. e. they are always employed where the case is a strong one and the reason obvious, and hence may be translated "for indeed," "for surely," like the Latin *et enim*. See § 42. The reason which the orator proceeds to give for considering those who acquiesced in the measures of Philip, or assisted him in accomplishing them, "worse off" than those who (like themselves) had opposed him, is in substance this: "that while such would have clearly shown themselves unworthy of the Grecian name, and been justly censurable for not resisting the efforts of Philip to obtain the sovereignty of Greece, however justly and mildly he might have exerted

that sovereignty, how much better was their own case, now that he had exerted that power in destroying, as far as he was able, the dignity, supremacy, independence, and even the political institutions of all alike, both his allies and those who had opposed him." I have restored ὁμως and οὐκ to the text, since they seem to be obviously required by the sense. For an account of the treatment of the Thessalians by Philip, who are here especially alluded to, see Thirlw., Vol. II. pp. 132 and 133.

66. Ἡ τί τὸν σύμβουλον . . . διαφέρει.] "Or what was it necessary for the counsellor to advise or propose, the counsellor at Athens, myself? (for this makes the greatest difference)." Athens is the emphatic word in this sentence, and the parenthetical clause refers to it, or rather to the fact of his being counsellor in such a city, which, he says, was a circumstance all-important to be considered in deciding whether the policy which he advised was suitable or not. — A city, he goes on to say, which he well knew had, in all previous time, hazarded everything for its own elevation and renown, and for the common interests of Greece. This was especially true in the great contest with Persia, when Athens displayed an energy and patriotism far surpassing those of any other state. He asks then of his adversary, what other course he could have advised, under such circumstances and in such a city.

67. τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν, κ. τ. λ.] This, and the other nouns in this connection, are in the accusative, as denoting the *part affected*. See K. § 279, 7. In the course of his numerous campaigns, Philip had been wounded in the various ways here described. — πᾶν ὃ τι . . . ζῆν] "every, whatever part of his body fortune might wish to take away, readily and cheerfully yielding this up, so as to live with the remainder in honor and glory." πᾶν properly agrees with μέρος, but is separated from it by a part of the relative clause, which has the force of an attributive, in order to increase the intensity of its meaning. I have restored to the text the words ὁαδίως

καὶ ἐτοίμως, as they seem perfectly consistent with the connection.

68. Πέλλη] The capital of Macedonia, where Philip was born and brought up; before his time a very inconsiderable and rude place, but afterwards adorned and rendered illustrious by him and his son Alexander. — μεγαλοψυχίας] “magnanimity,” “elevated views,” “lofty ambition.” — καὶ τοῦτ', κ. τ. λ.] “and to conceive this in his mind, while to you, being citizens of Athens, and witnessing every day, in all that is said and seen, the memorials of the valor of your ancestors, there should be such a want of spirit, as of your own choice freely to yield up to Philip the liberties of Greece.” The Athenians were proud of their history, and were in the habit of dwelling upon it much in their speeches, as we see Demosthenes is, and of exhibiting their achievements in the theatre. In these, therefore, as well as other ways, they were reminded of the valor of their ancestors by what they heard and saw. The word αὐτεπαγγέλτους, “self-proposed,” adds something to ἐθελοντάς, and they are to be taken together as expressing a voluntary willingness originating with themselves, without being compelled to it.

56. Λοιπὸν δικαίως] “It remained, therefore, and at the same time was necessary, to resist rightfully all that he was doing wrongfully to you.” — πάντα τᾶλλ', κ. τ. λ.] “passing by everything else, Amphipolis,” etc. Of the three lists of places given in this and the succeeding sentences, the first presented instances of daring aggression by Philip upon the interests of Athens, before the peace which has been spoken of; the second, during the negotiations concerning the peace; and the third, after its ratification. Hence he says, that, in justification of his course in renewing hostilities with Philip, he will say nothing of the first two lists, but will speak only of the third.

70. οὐδ' εἰ γέγονεν οἶδα] “I do not even know if they have happened,” i. e. he would know nothing about them in this connection, would make no account whatever of them. —

Καίτοι σύ, κ. τ. λ.] “And yet you at least said, that I, speaking of these things (i. e. at the time of their occurrence), excited these (the Athenians) to hatred (against Philip), although the decrees proposed concerning these events (i. e. censuring the conduct of Philip) were those of Eubulus and Aristophon and Diopithes, not mine, O thou saying recklessly whatever thou pleasest.” The charge of Æschines here referred to may be found p. 65 of his speech.

71. *Ἀλλ’ ὁ τὴν Εὐβοίαν . . . τὴν Ἀττικὴν*] “But when he proceeds to appropriate to himself Eubœa, and prepare a fortification against Attica.” Eubœa lay along the eastern coast of Attica, and of course, if possessed by an enemy, would afford an advantageous point from which to annoy the inhabitants. For the advantages of its position see Isoc. Panegyr. p. 63. The position of *ἐκεῖνος* here is somewhat peculiar, since it usually either precedes or follows both the noun and the article. Occasionally, however, we find it inserted between them, after a word which is to be made emphatic; as Dem. Orat. de F. L. p. 407: *τῆς προτέρας ἐκεῖνης πρεσβείας*. — *πόλλαις Ἑλληνίδας*] For the construction see § 18, note. — *τοὺς φυγάδας*] “the exiles,” i. e. those who had been banished by the dominant or democratic party. These acts, therefore, were an interference with Grecian institutions, and especially insulting to Athens, on account of her highly democratic principles. — *φανῆναι*] Followed by a participle, as here, it means “to appear,” “come forward”; but followed by an infinitive, “to seem.” K. § 311, 8.

72. *τὴν Μυσῶν λείαν καλουμένην*] “the so-called prey of the Mysians.” To be called the prey of the Mysians was equivalent to being called the prey of the weakest and most spiritless people; the Mysians, a people of Asia Minor, being proverbial for this character. — *καὶ προλέγων, κ. τ. λ.*] “and continued forewarning and admonishing you not to give up these things to Philip,” i. e. the possessions, rights, interests, etc., spoken of before.

73. *τίς τίνας αἰτίως ἔστι*] “who is to blame, and of what.”

A double interrogative. For an explanation of the construction, see K. § 344, R. 7. — *Κόπριος*] This, and not *Κύπριος*, has been shown to be the correct reading by Boeckh. *Seeusen*, p. 384. — *ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σίτου παραπομπήν*] “for the conveying of corn.” The corn, as it appears from the letter of Philip, § 77, was brought from the Hellespont to the island of Lemnos. These vessels, being designed as an escort to those which brought the corn, were, of course, armed, and hence were seized by Philip, under the pretext that they were designed to aid the Selymbrians against him. See § 77. — *συναχθῶσι*] In the plural because *βουλή* is a noun of multitude.

74. *ὅτι οὐ, κ. τ. λ.*] *λέγειν* is to be understood with this clause, which is implied in *διαλέξονται* above, and is expressed below. — *εἰ δέ . . . λαβών*] “but if Amyntas has done this (i. e. taken the vessels), having found the captain doing anything contrary to his instructions.” — *καὶ τοῦτο γράψαι λέγειν*] “that they (the ambassadors) direct him (Philip) to write this also.” I see no objection to interpreting this difficult passage thus, which leaves the text unmutilated. This meaning of *γράφειν* is not uncommon even in this Oration, see especially § 41, where it is used in speaking of the contents of Philip’s letter.

75. *εἴτα πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι*] “then all others rather than I.” Dissen. — *βουλῆς γνώμη, κ. τ. λ.*] “with the approbation of the Senate, the prytanes and generals, having reported the proceedings of the assembly, stated for their deliberation (*ἐξηγημάτισαν*) that it was the will of the people that they (i. e. the Senate) should choose ambassadors,” etc. The approbation of the Senate here, as Dissen supposes, refers to their adopting the measure proposed, = *ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ*. — *Ἀριστοφῶν . . . εἶπεν*] “Aristophon of Colyttus, a proedrus, proposed it,” i. e. the decree to elect the ambassadors here named. What we have here seems to be rather the record of the substance of a decree than the decree itself. By *πρόεδρος* must be meant one of the *proedri non contribules*; as Colyttus, the

place to which he is said to have belonged, did not come within the limits of the tribe Hippothoontis, which is spoken of as the presiding tribe.

76. *δεικνύω*] The forms in *ύω* are used interchangeably with those in *ύμι*. See Dem. Pop. Orat. II. § 12. — *Ἀλλ' οὐκ . . . παρέσχον*] "But you could not; for if you had been able, you would just now (i. e. in his speech) have produced nothing sooner than this." The design here being to deny both the protasis and apodosis (K. § 339, 1. b), we must use, in translation, the tenses employed for this purpose in English, which, it will be perceived, differ from the Greek. See Pop. Orat. of Dem. IV. 1.

77. *Λαομέδων*] As this name differs from that given him in the decree, § 78, and as we know that to have been a Grecian name from *Æsch. adv. Timarch.*, p. 15, fin., we must suppose Philip to have misunderstood it, and written a somewhat similar word in its stead. — *Καθ' ὅλου . . . ἔσεσθαι*] "In short, therefore, you appear to me to be about to be very silly," — "It appears to me that you will be in great folly." The peculiarity of the construction arises from the use of the personal instead of the impersonal form, which is quite common in Greek. See § 4, n.

78. *ἄνευ μὲν τοῦ δήμου*] "without the sanction of the people." — *Καὶ . . . ἔσεσθαι*] "And they suppose that such a thing will be a revenue to themselves;" i. e. that it would, by creating troublous times, open prospects of gain and distinction to such desperate characters. — *καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ, . . . εἰρήνην*] "and for the future, if you are willing not to allow your leaders to act with bad faith (i. e. towards himself), but will punish them, I also will endeavor to keep the peace." Instead of *τοῦ λοιποῦ*, we find more frequently perhaps, *τὸ λοιπόν*, sometimes *τὰ λοιπά*. Of these different forms the gen. represents the time as a *cause*, i. e. an indispensable condition of the action, while the acc. represents it as the *measure*, in the sing. as a *unit*, but in the plur. as *composed of parts*. Demosthenes denies that he was one of those censured in this

letter, because he had nothing to do with the measures referred to.

79. *τούτων . . . ἡνυπτιούμην*] “for these I took my stand against, and these I opposed.” Demosthenes had watched the course of Philip from the beginning, and made it his principal business to resist his encroachments, after he engaged in public affairs. — *ἔγγραψα*] “I proposed.” The occasions on which this and the subsequent embassies, etc., were proposed, arose out of the proceedings of Philip during the existence of the peace, and may be considered as some of the preliminary steps towards a rupture. He was found to be gaining influence, by his machinations with the enemies of Sparta in the Peloponnesus, when Demosthenes proposed, and even went upon, the embassy here referred to, in order to open their eyes to his true character and designs. The embassy to Eubœa was proposed soon after the destruction of Porthmus by Philip, alluded to § 71, when he was seizing upon (*ἥπτετο*) the island, by taking that important port; and the expedition soon after, when he had established his partisans, Philistides and Clitarchus, as rulers in the two principal cities, Oreus and Eretria. The expedition was under the command of Phocion, as also were the naval armaments (*ἀποστολούς*) to the Cherronesus, Byzantium, and the other allies here mentioned. They were highly successful, and won much honor, both for the captain who conducted them, and the minister who despatched them.

80. *τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων*] “those befriended.” — *τῶν δ' . . . εἶναι*] “but to those of the injured (i. e. by Philip), who then confided in you, safety resulted, while to those standing aloof there resulted the frequent recollection of what you predicted, and the thinking that you were not only well disposed towards them, but shrewd men and prophets,” i. e. the arms of Athens were so successful at this time, that she was able to protect all who joined her as allies, while those who did not join her became the prey of Philip.

81. *ὑπάρχειν . . . ἀντιᾶ*] “might remain to himself against

you." On account of the favorableness of their position for annoying them. — καὶ περὶ . . . πανταχοῦ] "and that nothing concerning the rest might be exposed, nor any one examine everywhere (as he did) his acts of injustice." Demosthenes alludes to these facts, in order to show how favorable an opportunity he had for receiving bribes in these cases, if he had been as easily bought as Æschines had represented him as being.

82. Οὐ τοίνυν . . . τήμερον] "Therefore no one of these results was effected, O thou speaking slanderously concerning me, and saying that I am silent, having received, but clamor having spent. Not so you; but you clamor while you have, and never will cease, unless these (the judges), having disgraced you to-day, shall stop you." The results referred to as not having been effected were those mentioned above, viz. the permitting the tyrants Clitarchus and Philistides to remain in possession of their power, and the unjust acts of Philip to pass unexposed, on account of any bribes which they might offer him. Having thus presented the most convincing evidence of his being proof against corruption in these cases, the orator turns it to the best account, after his usual manner, by placing it in strong contrast with the charge of his adversary (p. 85), that he spoke only from the hope of pay, and, without this quickener of his eloquence, took no part in public affairs. Not so, he says, with his adversary, who was always clamoring for more, though always under pay.

83. καὶ δευτέρου . . . γιγνομένου] "and this being to me already a second proclamation." I do not see how it is possible (unless perhaps γενομένου may have been the original reading) to avoid referring this to the proclamation of the crown proposed by Ctesiphon. I would suggest, therefore, in order to obviate the difficulty arising from his expressly referring to two crownings before this, §§ 222 and 223, that perhaps that of Demomeles and Hyperides was not proclaimed, or, if it was, not in the theatre. It may be considered as something in favor of this suggestion, that the orator makes special

mention here of the *proclamation* of the crown of Aristonicus, and in § 120, although speaking of the subject of proclamations, and of the great number of them which had been made, is careful to say of himself, merely, that he has been often *crowned*.

84. *Ἡγέμενος*] The name of his father is added, perhaps, to distinguish him from the Chæronidas referred to in § 54. — *τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην*] “the superintendent of the games.”

85. *Καὶ μὴν . . . τιμωρίας*] “And surely, when deeds are recent and familiar to all, as in case they seem good, they receive favor, so, if very otherwise, punishment.” This clause is designed to show, that the time at which the approbation of his conduct here referred to was expressed, was the most favorable time for obtaining a true expression of feeling. For *ὡς ἐτέρως*, see K. § 343, R. 2.

86. *τῷ νικᾶν, κ. τ. λ.*] “by prevailing in counselling and proposing decrees, when you were deliberating; by the measures proposed being carried into effect, and crowns following from them to the city, to me, and to you all; by your making sacrifices and processions to the gods as if these things were good.” This is a summing up of the various indications which had been given, that his measures, up to the time here referred to, had been considered most useful to the city, as Ctesiphon had asserted them to be.

87. *τοῖς μὲν ὀπλοῖς . . . ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ*] “as far as arms were concerned, by you, but as far as policy and decrees were concerned (even though some of these burst with envy), by me.” For this sense of *πολιτεία* see § 93. — *ἕτερον*] “alius generis.” Schäf. K. § 246, 8, (b). — *Ὀρῶν δ’ . . . ἐπείσάκτω*] The soil of Attica was not very productive, and hence large quantities of grain were annually imported, principally from the Pontus or the region near the Black Sea. See Boeckh, Pub. Econ. of Ath., Bk. II., chap. 15. — *παρελθὼν ἐπὶ Θράκης*] “passing along by Thrace,” i. e. to Byzantium, occupying the site now occupied by Constantinople. It was at this time, as appears, in alliance with Philip, though, as they are

here represented as saying to him, for no such purpose as joining with him in a war against Athens. Indeed, it had formerly, during the palmy days of Athens, been in alliance with that city, and most probably even now was secretly looking to it as the avowed enemy and opposer of Philip, for protection against his encroachments. — τὸ μὲν πρῶτον] “in the first place.” Often used so with the article, §§ 151, 236. — χαράκωμα . . . ἐπολιόρκει] “having pitched his camp before the city, and placed his engines near, he commenced the siege.” ἐπιστήσας has this meaning, Orat. adv. Philip. III., p. 115, referred to by Dissen. These were rather the preliminary steps to a siege than an actual siege.

88. οὐκέτι ἐρωτήσω] “I will no longer ask,” “I will not ask again,” having already asked the question in a similar case. — ἀπλῶς] “simply,” “absolutely.”

89. ὁ γὰρ . . . προήχεται] “for the war which then arose (i. e. in defence of Byzantium, etc.) besides having gained for you honorable renown, caused you to live (διηγεν) with all things necessary for life more abundant and cheaper than the present peace, which these good citizens preserve against the interests of their country, on account of future hopes; which may they fail of, and may they neither participate in those things which you, who ask the best things of the gods, have preferred, nor impart to you those which they have preferred.” The peace here referred to was not that with Philip, which has been so often spoken of, but that made with Alexander, after the battle of Chæronea, which differed, indeed, but little from servitude. The two parties alluded to were the Macedonian party, to which Æschines belonged, and the Athenian party, at the head of which Demosthenes was. The former party were hoping for the complete triumph of the Macedonian arms and principles, and their own elevation in consequence; the latter, for the complete emancipation of their country from Macedonian influence, and the reestablishment of the democracy in all its purity. The wish that Demosthenes here expresses concerning the former party is, that

they may utterly fail of their hopes, and thus be excluded both from enjoying the benefit of the institutions which his party were contending for, and from imposing the evils of theirs upon them. For this plainly would have been a consequence of the failure of their hopes; since, if the Macedonian influence had not prevailed, it would have left them at the mercy of the party opposed to them, who would have destroyed or driven them from the city.

90. *Ἐπὶ ἱερομνάμονος Βοσπορίῳ*] “Under the Hieromnemon Bosporichus.” At Byzantium the year seems to have taken its name from the Hieromnemon, as it did at Athens from the chief archon. This was the appellation of one class of the Amphictyonic deputies. It came into use at Byzantium, probably, from her connection with this council. The Byzantians were of Doric origin, and hence this decree is in the Doric dialect. Two of the prominent peculiarities of this dialect appear in the words here quoted, viz. the use of *α* for *η*, and *ω* for *ου*, in certain cases. — *ἐκ τῆς . . . ῥήτραν*] “obtaining permission to speak from the Senate.” The provision in this respect, also, seems to have been the same as at Athens; where, as we have seen, it was necessary for every measure to be approved by the Senate before it came before the people. Indeed, it is probable that these forms were borrowed from Athens; as her constitution and laws were very renowned among the ancients, and would naturally be extensively adopted, especially by those who were at any time her allies. — *καὶ τοῖς . . . Περινθίοις*] “and their allies and kinsmen, the Perinthians.” Perinthus, afterwards called Heraclea, was a flourishing city, situated to the west of Byzantium, at no great distance, and connected with it by common interests, and, as it would seem from this passage, by a common origin.

91. *Ἀθηναίους . . . λειτουργιᾶν*] “to give to the Athenians the right of intermarriage, the right of citizenship, the right of possessing among us land and houses, an honorable seat at the games, admission to the Senate and Assembly first after the sacred rites, and to those wishing to dwell in the

city, to be free from all public burdens." *πρώτοις* is the Doric form for *πρώτοις*. The last word, *λειτουργιᾶν*, is the genitive plural Doric, and is governed by *ἀλειτουργήτοις*. The sacred rites alluded to were those by which the session was opened, in the same manner as at Athens; and the privilege of being admitted at that time consisted in the fact, that, being thus admitted, their business would be attended to first. — *στεφανούμενον τὸν δᾶμον*] "the people crowned." This is what the statues represented, and hence *δᾶμον* may be considered as in apposition with *εἰκόνας*, in the preceding line. They were to be of gigantic proportions, and placed in a conspicuous place upon the banks of the Bosphorus, where all nations might see them as they passed that great commercial thoroughfare. — *ὥς*] This is the Doric for *οὗς*, and stands by attraction in the accusative, instead of the dative.

92. *ἀπὸ . . . Ἀθηναίων*] "of sixty talents' value, and consecrate an altar of gratitude, and of the people of Athens," i. e. commemorative of their own gratitude and of the benevolent character of the Athenians. — *Καὶ ἐν, κ. τ. λ.*] "And in all coming time they (the people of Cherronesus) will not fail to be thankful, and to do them (the Athenians) whatever good they can."

93. *ἡ προαίρεσις . . . πολιτεία*] "my course and policy," "my course of policy." An instance of hendiadys, or perhaps a mere oratorical pleonasm. See §§ 192, 292, 317. — *καλοκάγαθίαν*] The *καλοκάγαθος ἀνὴρ* was the perfect man of the Greeks. Consequently, *καλοκάγαθία* must mean "the character or conduct suited to such a man," i. e. "honorableness," "nobleness."

94. *Τμεῖς δ', . . . ἐφαίνεσθε*] "But you, who might with reason have brought both many and just charges against them, on account of their ungrateful conduct towards you in former times, were seen not only not resenting injuries, nor deserting them when wronged, but even protecting them." *ᾶν* gives an optative meaning to the preceding participle. K. § 260, 2, (5), (b). The ingratitude of the Byzantians here referred to

was manifested in the Social War. — σύμβουλον . . . ῥήτορα] “a counsellor and orator I mean.” This was said to make an exception in favor of generals and military men, some of whom had procured this honor for the city.

95. *Ἰνα . . . πράττειν*] “Therefore, in order that I may show also the reproaches which he (Æschines) uttered against the Eubœans and Byzantians, calling up whatever of injury they may have done you, to be mere slanders, not only by their being false (for this I think you already know), but also by this, that, were they ever so true, it has been profitable to manage matters as I have managed them, I wish to relate one or two of the things honorable to the city done in your times, and these in few words; for it is always proper for a man privately, and a state publicly, to endeavor to perform what remains to be done, according to the most honorable of the deeds which have gone before.” Æschines had made great complaint in his speech (§ 84 seq.) of the policy of Demosthenes in defending and entering into alliance with the Eubœans, on account of the injuries which they had formerly done to Athens, and the character which they sustained, all of which he had greatly exaggerated and misrepresented. Now it is these reproaches which he was thus led to utter against them that Demosthenes says he wishes to show to be mere slanders, or objections deserving to have no weight, not simply because they were false, but also because much good had resulted from the alliance.

96. *καὶ τὰ . . . φρουραῖς*] “and occupying the places in the circle of (around) Attica, by Harmosts and garrisons.” The time here alluded to was subsequent to the Peloponnesian war, when Sparta had wrested from Athens nearly all her foreign possessions and allies, and, after her usual manner, established in all the places thus won, civil and military powers. Harmosts were governors sent out by Sparta, who exercised an arbitrary power over those committed to their care. See Smith’s Dict. Antiq., Art. *Harmostæ*. — *ἐξήλθετε σὺς Ἀλίατρον*] “you made an expedition to Haliartus,” i. e.

during the Corinthian war, to assist the Thebans in relieving that place from a siege by the Lacedæmonians. — τῶν τότε μνησικαχῆσαι] “although the Athenians of that day might have indulged in resentment for many things against.” For the influence of ἄν here, see § 16, n., and for the force of the gen. absolute, see K. § 312, 4, (d). — περὶ πόλεμον] “relative to the Deceleian war,” i. e. the latter part of the Peloponnesian war, so called from Deceleia, a place in the vicinity of Athens, which the Lacedæmonians got possession of and fortified, greatly to the annoyance of Athens. This part of the war is alluded to, because it was at this time that the states here spoken of, and most of their other allies, forsook the Athenians and joined themselves to Sparta. Of course, then, they had reason to complain of them principally with reference to this part of the war. Comp. Herm. Polit. Antiq. § 166, 6, 7.

97. δεῖ γενναίως] “but it becomes brave men, while they always embark in every honorable undertaking, placing before them as a shield the hope of success, to bear manfully whatever the Deity may allot them.” This is one of those elegant and lofty sentiments in which Demosthenes abounds above all the other Attic orators, and for which he is thought to have been somewhat indebted to the instruction of Plato; though the Stoics, from the nature of these sentiments, particularly from his so often distinguishing what is politic or expedient from what is right, and recommending virtue for its own sake, claimed him as belonging to their sect. Cicero, however, says (Brut. 31, 121), what undoubtedly is true: — “Lectitavisse Platonem studiose, audivisse etiam Demosthenes dicitur; idque apparet ex genere et granditate verborum.”

98. ὑμῶν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι] “the older portion of you,” i. e. of the Athenians then living and present, as distinguished from πρόγονοι, a few words before this. — οἱ, Λακεδαιμόνιοι] The first of these words is nominative to διεκωλύσατε, and the other is governed by ἀνελεῖν. — οὐδ’ ὑπὲρ δια-

λογισάμενοι] “nor considering for men having done what, you would expose yourselves to danger,” i. e. for what sort of men, how injurious men. The future is employed because the speaker transports himself to the time referred to. See § 26, n.

99. ὅτι, καὶ . . . ὑπολογεῖσθε,] “that, even if any one of them (i. e. the Greeks) may have injured you in any thing whatever, you retain indignation towards him in other things, but if any danger overtakes them relative to their safety and freedom, you will neither hold the grudge nor make any account of it.” Observe the difference between ὑπολογίζεσθαι, “to take into the account,” “to make account of,” and διαλογίζεσθαι, “to balance, as in settling an account.” — οὕτως ἐσχέκατε] lit. “have you held yourselves thus,” i. e. conducted thus. It was, for a reason already stated, of great importance to the Athenians to retain the Eubœans in their interest, and hence it was that they undertook the expedition here referred to, in order to counteract the influence of Thebes among them. Neither this nor the preceding instances given by Demosthenes, of assistance rendered to those who had injured them, were dictated, as is probable, by so pure a regard for their independence as is represented here, but by views of policy ; as, for instance, for the purpose of maintaining the balance of power between Sparta and Thebes, or checking the progress of a rival. However, they served his purpose very well, in justifying the point in his policy for which they were adduced. The injuries alluded to as being received by the Athenians from Themison and Theodorus consisted in their establishing themselves in Oropus to the exclusion of the Athenians. — τῶν ἐθελοντῶν . . . πόλει] “there being then for the first time voluntary trierarchs to the city.” Allusion is here made to the system adopted at Athens for equipping galleys for the public service. According to this system, the twelve hundred richest citizens were divided into ‘twenty *symmoriæ*, as they were called, and these again were subdivided into *synteliæ* (comprising at the most but sixteen individuals), each of which

was bound to equip a galley and keep it in repair for a year. Comp. Herm. Polit. Antiq. § 161. On the present occasion, however, it was ascertained that so many of these *synteliai* had already discharged their duty according to the requirements of the law, that there were not a sufficient number left, who were liable to be called upon, to meet the emergency. Such, however, was the public enthusiasm, that enough came forward at once of their own accord, and undertook the service, of whom Demosthenes says he was one. A trierarch, therefore, though originally the captain of a galley, was not generally at this period, but a man who equipped one.

100. *Καίτοι . . . ὑπολογισάμενοι*] "But although you did a noble deed, even the saving of the island, nevertheless you did by far a more noble one than this, in that, being masters both of their persons and cities, you justly restored these to them, though they had injured you, having made no account of the injuries which you had received, in what you had been confided in." Observe the use of *μέν* and *δέ* in marking the correspondence of the clauses. K. § 322, 3.

101. *τοσούτοις καὶ τοιούτοις*] "in so great and such matters." — *ὑπὲρ . . . ποιεῖν*] "what was I about to (what could I) urge and advise it to do, the question (*βουλῆς*) being in a manner concerning itself?" i. e. the city having so immediate and deep an interest in the matter. See § 71, n. — *Μνησικακεῖν γὰρ Δία*] "Harbor ill-will, I dare say." A common use of *γὰρ Δία* in answering for, or anticipating the objection of, another. See § 117; also, F. L., p. 390, § 174. — *Ἐπεὶ τό, κ. τ. λ.*] "Since you would not have performed the act (i. e. of leaving the Eubœans to become the prey of the Thebans), I well know; for if you wished to, what was in the way? Was it not in your power to do it? Were not these (i. e. Æschines and his associates) present, ready to advocate this course?" *ἐροῦντες* is in the future, and consequently conveys the idea of being about or ready to speak.

102. *καὶ τοὺς μὲν . . . καιρῶν*] "and the rich discharged at a trifling expense, but those of the citizens who had acquir-

ed but moderate or small possessions expending all they had (*τὰ ὅντα*), and besides, the city by these means missing opportunities." Allusion is here made to a very natural abuse which grew out of the system for equipping galleys described above. As the different classes, or *symmoriæ*, of those upon whom it devolved by law to bear this burden were allowed to unite in companies, or *synteliæ*, for the purpose of equipping a galley, those who had capital, or the richer members, would undertake to equip the vessel for a certain sum. And as the other members had not capital sufficient to undertake it, they would not of course underbid them, and hence they obtained the job pretty much at their own price. Then, by hiring it done in an indifferent way, and for a small sum, and exacting of the other members their full quota of the price for which they contracted with them, they often contrived to save the whole of their own quota, which, besides, was no greater than that of the poorer members. This system, therefore, was unjust in two ways; (1) in imposing the same burden upon the poorer members of the companies as upon the richer; and, (2) in furnishing the richer members an opportunity of saving the comparatively small expense which fell upon them according to law. It resulted, further, from this system, that the vessels were poorly equipped, as all such job-work must be done poorly. Now the change which Demosthenes introduced by the law here spoken of, and which he goes on further to describe, was, to require one galley to be maintained by every ten talents of taxable capital; so that only individuals possessing less than this were allowed to club together for this purpose, till their property amounted to it, while those who were worth more than this sum furnished more than one galley. No single individual, however, could be compelled to equip more than three galleys and one transport. He might, therefore, justly pride himself on the superiority of his system to that which he found in operation. For a fuller account of this whole matter, the reader may consult the section in Hermann, referred to in § 99.

103. *Καὶ γραφεὶς . . . ἐλαβὲν*] “And being indicted, I entered upon this trial before you, and escaped conviction (was acquitted), and the prosecutor did not receive the required proportion of the votes.” He was prosecuted in this case for proposing a law contrary to an existing law which had not been annulled; but, as it seems, was acquitted by the judges so triumphantly, that the accuser did not receive even a fifth part of the votes, which it was necessary he should in order to save him from incurring a fine and the inability to institute such a prosecution in future. For the force of the article with *μέρος*, see K. § 244, 3. — *ἡγεμόνας τῶν συμμοριῶν*] “the leaders of the symmoriæ,” i. e. the wealthiest members, who, according to what has already been said, were most affected by the change in question. — *διδόναι*] “to offer.” It frequently has this meaning in the pres. and imperf. See below § 104, *fin.*; also Orat. F. L., p. 293, § 183: *ὧν ἡμῖν εἰδίδου ξενίων*, which he was offering us as presents.” For the reference of the infin. pres. to past time, and for the contrast in the mode of representation between it and the infin. aor. (*θεῖναι*), see K. § 257, 1, c. — *ὥστε . . . ὑπωμοσία*] “in order first of all (*μάλιστα μὲν*) that I should not propose this law, but if not this, that, having dropped it, I should leave it under protest?” i. e. as the connection indicates, the protest made by the prosecutor against it, which had the effect of delaying the passage of a law until the cause was decided, and, if the proposer choose to drop it at that point, prevented its passage altogether. The wealthy citizens, therefore, as Demosthenes says, would have given him almost any sum, in the first place, not to have proposed the law, or, even after he had done this, to drop the matter when protested against by the prosecutor. *ὑπωμοσία* generally means “a petition for delaying a trial, for certain reasons given under oath.” But as the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* had the effect of delaying the passage of the law against which it was brought, and as it was often resorted to for this purpose, the party who had recourse to it was required to take the same oath. Comp. Herm. Polit. Antiq. § 132, 3.

104. *συνεκαίδεκα λειτουργεῖν*] “to perform the service by sixteens, or sixteen together.” — *αὐτοῖς μὲν*] “themselves indeed.” In the dative by attraction. — *τὸ γιγνόμενον . . . συνελῆς*] “for each one to contribute his proportion according to his property, and he proved to be the trierarch of two galleys, who was formerly the sixteenth contributor to one.”

105. *καθ’ ὃ . . . τὴν γραφὴν*] “according to which I entered upon the charge.” See § 103. — *τοὺς καταλόγους*] “the lists,” i. e. the parts of the respective laws which contained the principle of the assessment (*tax-rolls*). Dissen. — *νόμον τριηραρχικὸν*] I have rejected *εἰς τὸ* between these words, after Boeckh, Pub. Econ. Ath., Bk. IV., chap. 14, n. 387. One MS. is in favor of this, the whole connection, and the expression, § 312, *τὸν τριηραρχικὸν νόμον*.

106. *τὸν καλὸν*] Ironical. — *Τοὺς τριηράρχους, κ. τ. λ.*] “That sixteen trierarchs be made for each galley, out of the companies in the divisions.” Wolf suggests that *λόχοι* here may mean the same as *συμμορίαί*. If so, the division into classes and companies, for the purposes of the trierarchy, was founded upon a similar division of the citizens that existed previously to this, for the purpose of other extraordinary contributions, which is probably the fact. Comp. Herm. Polit. Antiq. § 162. — *ἐπὶ ἴσον, κ. τ. λ.*] “sharing the expense equally.” *χορηγία* seems to lose its technical sense here, and take the more general sense implied in it. — *Τοὺς τριηράρχους . . . δέκα*] “That trierarchs be chosen to each galley from property according to valuation, from ten talents as a basis.” Observe the distributive use of the article with *τριήρη*. K. § 244, 5. — *χερημάτων*.] Gen. of price. — *τὴν ἀντήν, κ. τ. λ.*] “and let it also be according to the same proportion to those to whom there is less property than the ten talents, they uniting into a company until their property amounts to ten talents.”

107. *ἢ μικρὰ . . . πλούσιοι*] “or do the rich appear to you that they would have spent a small amount of money for the sake of not (being compelled) to do what is just?” We see the Greek idiom here, in using the personal where we

should use an impersonable verb, i. e. *δοκοῦσιν*, to be supplied from the previous line. See § 4, n. *τοῦ* refers to the clause which follows it, and is governed by *ἀναλῶσαι*, as a gen. of price. — *Οὐ τοίνυν . . . σεμνύνομαι*] “Therefore, I glory not only in not desisting from these measures through collusion with them,” i. e. the rich. *καθυφεῖναι* = *prævaricari*. See the word in *Orat. pro. Megalop.* p. 206. — *Πάντα γὰρ . . . ἀνάγεσθαι*] “For during the whole war, the naval expeditions being fitted out under my law, no trierarch ever lodged a petition with you as if having been wronged, nor seated himself in Munychia, nor was thrown into chains by the naval board, nor was any galley, either having been seized out of the harbor, lost to the city, nor left there, not being fit for sea.” But all these things, he goes on to say, did happen under the old law. The petitions here alluded to as lodged with the people on account of injuries, were placed upon the altar in the Pnyx by the poorer members of the *syntelia*, praying for relief from the oppressive burdens which fell upon them according to the former law. It was the same class, too, who, for the same reason, were in the habit of seating themselves at the altar of Diana in the Munychia, as suppliants. Probably this altar, situated in one of the most important ports of Athens, was the sanctuary to which those who were not able to discharge the duty required of them by the old law fled for protection against the *apostoleis*. These officers constituted a kind of naval board for the enforcement of the regulations concerning the equipping of vessels, and for their inspection after they were built.

108. *Τὸ δ' . . . λειτουργεῖν*] “But the cause was, the burden fell upon the poor,” — *βάσκανον . . . ἀνάξιον*] “while there is no public measure of mine dictated by envy, hostility, and malice, neither grovelling nor unworthy of the city,” i. e. he had been governed in his policy by enlarged, high-minded, and statesman-like views, and had not been influenced by private piques and jealousies, or by low and grovelling feelings, as Æschines had.

110. τὸ γὰρ νομίζω] “for this, *that I both did the best things, and am always well disposed and zealous to promote your interests*, I think has been sufficiently shown by me by what has already been said.” μοί here is employed as a dative of the agent with the perfect passive, as it often is in Greek, instead of the genitive with ὑπό. K. § 284, 3, (11). — ὑπολαμβάνων, κ. τ. λ.] “supposing it necessary for me, in the first place, to produce in order the arguments relative to the illegality itself (i. e. of the decree of Ctesiphon), then, even though I say nothing concerning the remainder of my political acts, supposing that nevertheless there exists a consciousness of them with each one of you for me.” ἐφεξῆς means “in their proper place,” i. e. without digressing too far in following out his public measures. ὑμῶν takes the construction with παρά, instead of the partitive construction after ἐκάστω, on account of the influence of ὑπαρχειν (“there is from you a consciousness to each one,” instead of, “there is a consciousness to each one of you.”) μοί according to the construction here adopted (that of Dissen), must be considered as a dat. of advantage.

111. Τῶν μὲν οὖν διαλέξομαι] “Of the words, then, which this man, jumbling together confusedly, spoke concerning the laws written opposite (i. e. the laws represented as violated by the decree of Ctesiphon, and hence presented before the court written out opposite to it by the accuser), I think, by the gods, that neither you see the bearing of the greater part, nor was I myself able to comprehend them; but I will reason simply and in a straightforward way concerning the justice of the cause.” That is, he wishes to show that his case is justly distinguished from ordinary cases of responsibility in public officers, and hence that the laws referred to by Æschines are inapplicable. — ὧν πεπολίτευμαι] “for what I have passed through my hands (i. e. the money which he had had the management of), and for my public measures.”

112. Ὡν μὲντοι ῥύχη] “But, indeed, for what promising (*or of my own accord*) I have given to the people of

my private property, I say, — (do you hear it, Æschines?) — that I am not accountable for a single day, and that no other one is, not even if he be one of the nine archons." It was the law at Athens, that every one who held a public office must, at the expiration of the period of his office, pass his accounts before certain officers called Logistæ, and obtain their approval of them before he could be regularly discharged. Until this was done, he was considered a state debtor, and could dispose neither of himself nor of his property, the latter being pledged to the state; neither could he be a candidate for any public office or distinction. Comp. Herm. Polit. Antiq. § 154, 14. This duty of public officers Æschines had shown very fully in his speech (p. 56), and also that Demosthenes had not been thus discharged from the offices which he held. But it so happened that Demosthenes, in both of his offices, had contributed largely to the service of the state, and on this ground he contends, as the money which he had expended for the state came from his own pocket, that he was not accountable for it to any one, and therefore was a proper candidate for the distinction proposed, without going through the formality of having his accounts examined. — εἰς τοὺς συκοφάρτας . . . ἐπιστάναι] "to bring before sycophants, and empower these to institute a scrutiny into those things which he gave?" i. e. to put it in the power of sycophants to demand that he should give up an account of what he had thus presented to the state.

113. ἀλλ' οὗτος . . . ὅντα] "but this calumniator, because being at that time over the theoric fund I contributed money, says, *the Senate praised him, being undischarged of his accounts.*" The Senate are said to have praised him, because they had already passed the preliminary decree to crown him. — Ὁ μὲν . . . προσδεῖται] "For an account requires examination, and those who will examine it." — ὅδε] "this one, this friend of mine here," i. e. Ctesiphon.

114. στρατηγῶν] "while holding the office of general." Observe the force of the participle. — οὗτος] "this here."

NOTES.

He was present, most probably. — *διὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς*] “on account of his magistracy, or office.”

115. *τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν*] “the general of the heavy-armed soldiery, or infantry.” *ὀπλῶν* here is used for *ὀπλιτῶν*, as seen from the fact that the soldiers under this general are signated by the latter term, a few words after. It is so used in this way, too, by Xenophon (*Anab.* II. 2, 4, *et passim*), and other Greek authors. This usage is precisely the same as that of *artillery* in our language.

116. *πρυτάνεωσιν . . . γνώμῃ*] “the prytanes bringing it before the people with the approbation of the Senate.” Calpurnius was the author of the decree, but it was brought before the Senate by the prytanes. The name of the author is not found first, as here, in inscriptions of decrees. *Δισσολογία Σαλαμῖνα*] According to Vömel (as quoted in the *Class. Museum* No. VIII.), “the Attic Salamis, whither he was ordered in conjunction with Diotimus, after the battle on the Cephissus against Philip.” See § 216. — *Θεσμοθέτας*] “Thesmotheses.” A name given to the six inferior archons; so called from *θεσμός* and *τίθημι*, having originally, perhaps, been intrusted with making laws.

117. *τὰντὰ . . . δῆπου*] “for assuredly there are the same rights to me with others, concerning the same things.” *τὰντὰ* it will be perceived, is for *τὰ αὐτὰ*, “the same,” and *γὰρ ὅτι* *ἄλλοις*. In what follows in this paragraph, the orator goes on to describe the entire likeness of his case to that of the one alluded to. See a case similarly put below, § 198. — *Ἦν ἔγωγε* “I held a magistracy, or office.” — *Νὴ Δί', κ. τ. λ.*] “By Jupiter, but I exercised my office unjustly (perhaps I will say); then, being present, when the Logistæ summoned me before them, did you not accuse me?” Before this came on, Demosthenes had been discharged from his office, and, as he says, had given an account of these, though not of what he had made a present of. He therefore asks his opponent, if he had done anything wrong in his magistracy, which would make his case different from those just cited.

he did not at the time of the examination of his accounts charge him with the wrong. This question is asked, because at the time of a magistrate's passing his accounts before the *Logistæ*, any one who considered either himself, or the state, as having been defrauded by him, was expected to appear and make the charge, and he was bound to answer to it.

118. *Ἰνα τοίνυν, κ. τ. λ.*] "Therefore, in order that you may know that this man himself (i. e. *Æschines*) bears witness to me, that I have been crowned for those things for which I was not responsible, taking, read the whole decree which was proposed for me (i. e. that of *Ctesiphon*). For from what things of this preliminary decree he did not indict, from these he will be seen to act the part of a slanderer in those which he prosecutes." The point of the argument here is this, that *Æschines*, by not objecting to the preamble of the decree of *Ctesiphon*, in effect allowed that he was crowned for what he had given, and was not, therefore, responsible for, since the crowning was there expressly recommended upon this ground; and, furthermore, that the points of the decree which he had attacked, compared with those which he had not, showed him to be governed by the feelings of a slanderer.

119. *ἐπέδωκε . . . θυσίας*] "presented to the theoric funds from among all the tribes (i. e. of the different tribes) a hundred minas for sacrifices." The theoric funds were by degrees diverted from their proper use, and distributed among the people or tribes for defraying the expense of various other entertainments besides those of a theatrical nature. See Boeckh, *Pub. Econ. of Ath.*, Bk. II., chap. 13. *Demosthenes* contributed to the funds thus distributed the sum here named. This seemed to be the interpretation, if the MS. reading be retained. But perhaps the reading *θεωροῖς* for *θεωρητικοῖς*, suggested by Schäffer, and approved by Dissen and others, should be adopted. In that case, the present was made to the *sacred deputies* for sacrifices at some religious festival. This reading makes the construction of *ἐκ πασῶν τῶν φυλῶν* ("from all the tribes, i. e. the whole body of depu-

ties) easier. — ἀντὶ τούτων] “in return for these things.” — Τὸ λαβεῖν, κ. τ. λ.] “Acknowledging, therefore, the receiving of what has been given to be lawful, you accuse of illegality the returning a recompense for them. But a man wholly depraved and detested by the gods, and thoroughly slanderous, by the gods, what sort of a man would he be? Would he not be such an one as this?” The abrupt close here, breaking off suddenly, as if tired of pursuing so disgusting a subject, is very happy.

120. ὥστ’ οὐ δύνασαι] οὐ is used here instead of μή, because the design is to render δύνασαι negative, rather than the whole sentence. See K. § 318, 2, (h), 3, (f), and R. 1. — ζῆλον] This word has both an active and a passive sense. In the active sense it means “zeal,” “emulation,” “desire,” etc., and of course in a passive sense “an object of zeal,” “emulation,” “desire,” etc., i. e. any thing which is esteemed desirable or valuable, and hence may be best rendered here “desirableness or value.” — τοὺς ἀποδιδόντας τὴν χάριν] “those returning the favor.” — τῶν δήμων] “of the demi or boroughs.” — τὰς ἀναγορεύσεις . . . δήμοις] “that they make the proclamations of the crowns among themselves, each in their own demus.” ποιῆσθαι is in the mid. to express what they were to do among themselves.

121. ψηφίσηται] “may vote,” i. e. to proclaim, ἀναγορεύεσθαι being understood. — Τί οὖν . . . εἰσάγων] “Why then, O wretch, do you bring this false accusation? Why do you invent statements? Why do you not purge yourself with hellebore on account of these things? But you are not even ashamed instituting a trial for envy.” The orator, having thus completed the refutation of the charges contained in the indictment, breaks out upon his adversary in this contemptuous language. He represents his charges as so groundless, and his whole course in the trial so infatuated, as to indicate that he was insane; and hence advises him to take hellebore, which was the common remedy for insanity in those times, and thus confess his madness. — τοῖς γε . . . ψηφισέ-

θαι] “at least, to those who have sworn that they will vote according to the laws,” i. e. the judges. *ψηφιεῖσθαι* is a first future middle, made after the Attic form, by dropping σ, and then inflecting it like a contract verb in *έω*. K. § 117, 1.

122. *ὥσπερ . . . γιγνωσχομένους*] “just as if you had let out a statue to be made upon contract, and then had received it not having what it ought to have according to the contract; or as if men of the people are known by description, and not by acts and measures”; i. e. arbitrarily setting up a standard of what a popular man ought to be, and then condemning all who fall short of it, just as he would a statue or anything capable of exact description. See p. 77 of his speech. For the construction of the participles here, see K. § 312, RR. 12 and 13. — *Καὶ βοᾷς . . . ἐμοί*] “And you vociferate, calling me things decent and indecent, as if from a wagon, which epithets befit you and your race, not me.” In this and the preceding sentences the orator has given a sort of running analysis of the speech of his opponent, in such a manner as to convey a most contemptuous idea of it. According to his account, he had, in the first place, instituted the trial from envy, and, having thus instituted it, had resorted to the grossest perversion and even mutilation of the laws in order to sustain his charges; that he had then subjoined some remarks upon what was requisite for a public man, and, finally, had attacked him with the foulest abuse. The expression *ἐξ ἀμάξης* refers to the custom prevalent at many of the festivals among the Greeks, of throwing out jests or coarse abuse from the carriages, while making the processions connected with those festivals; and hence the peculiar meaning of *πομπεύειν*, § 124. Comp. Müller’s Hist. Lit. Greece, Vol. I. p. 291, note.

123. *Καίτοι . . . τοῦτο*] “And yet even this.” Often used thus in referring to some common maxim or admitted principles applicable to the case in hand. See Philip. II. § 12; also, Jelf’s K. 655, 8. — *κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν*] “according to their nature”; i. e. as Reiske says, — “*seu lenis, mitis, sedata, seu atrox, vehemens, cita, impetuosa, scœva, ita probra*

NOTES.

sunt." — *Οἰκοδομῆσαι . . . πόλιν*] "But I have seen that our ancestors built these courts of justice, not that they assembled you within them, we should utter reproaches against each other, drawn from our private difficulties, but that we should prove it against him, if any one perchance injured the city in any respect."

124. *Οὐ μὴν . . . ἀπελθεῖν*] "However, not even ought he to come off having less," i. e. than he had given. This is to say, as Æschines had taken this course, unsuitable in a public trial, it was but just, to use a homely phrase, that he should get as good as he had sent. This is said by Demosthenes in order to justify himself in entering upon a general censure of the character and conduct of his opponent, both private and public; which therefore he proceeds to do, having first put to him one question. — *Εἴτα οὐ . . . κρίσασιν*] "Where was possible (*ἤν*) to obtain satisfaction from me in behalf of these (i. e. the Athenians), if I had done anything wrong, viz. at the examination of my accounts, in the public examinations (*γραφαῖς*), and the other trials brought against me, I neglected it." At the examination of one's accounts, as already stated, might bring a charge of malversation against him, and he was obliged to answer to it. Demosthenes, soon after the unfortunate battle of Chæronea, was several times prosecuted, in various forms, for the wrongs which he had pursued, but, as he says a few lines below, he was convicted in none of them of having done anything wrong. These now, he reminds Æschines, were the occasions on which to have brought him to justice if he had done anything wrong, but he had made no attempt to do so.

125. *οὐ δ', κ. τ. λ.*] "but where I am clear by all the laws, by the time which has elapsed, by the time within which it is allowable to bring an action (*πρόσθεσις*) by my having frequently been tried before concerning these things, by my never having been convicted of anything, by you in anything, but where it is inevitable that the city should share more or less in the glory of my public acts, the

you attacked me? Beware, lest you are an enemy of these (i. e. the Athenians) while you profess to be an enemy of me." The point which the orator wishes to establish here is that expressed in the last clause, that Æschines, while professing hostility to him alone, was in reality acting the part of an enemy to the city. The way in which this is made out in this: Æschines had neglected bringing any charge against him on the proper occasions, when the city would have sustained no disgrace by it, but now that the proposition was to crown him for measures which he had proposed and the city adopted (and in the glory of which, therefore, they would share alike), he objected to it, thereby endeavoring not only to deprive him of the glory of his measures, but the city also. See the same subject touched again, § 207. *προθεσμία* more definite than *χρόνος*, means the legal time within which it was allowable to bring an action, which in most cases was five years. Comp. Herm. Polit. Antiq. § 141, 5.

126. *Ἐπειδὴ . . . δέδεικται*] "Since, therefore, the pious and just vote (i. e. the vote to acquit him) has been pointed out to all." Wolf supposes that the orator, at this point, saw in his judges signs of favor towards himself and of indignation towards his adversary, and hence seized the opportunity to draw this bold conclusion. Perhaps, however, it is sufficient to suppose, that he considered that he had said enough to convince them all which way they ought to vote, and therefore took it for granted that they were convinced. — *ἀντὶ . . . αὐτοῦ*] "instead of many and false things (like Æschines), to say barely the most essential things concerning him." *ἀντὰ* here strengthens the superlative, as *self* does in English, in such expressions as "the very essence itself." K. § 303, R. 4. — *ῥαδίως . . . φθέγξασθαι*] "he so readily commences reviling, and what words (of mine) he ridicules, himself having spoken words, which, who of respectable men would not have shrunk from pronouncing?" i. e. such tawdry, pompous words, as appears from what follows.

127. *ἀλλὰ μὴ . . . ἀγοῦς*] "but not a babbler, a practised

knave." I have translated *περίτρομμα ἀγορᾶς* according to the meaning given to it by the Scholiast on the *Antigone* of Sophocles, v. 320, namely, as = *ἄλημα*, or *veterator* in Latin. See *περίτρομμα* in Lid. and Scott. The ground upon which he says that the wisest and purest of men, such as *Æacus*, etc., would not have used such pretending language as he had, is more fully explained below, in the last part of § 128, and is briefly this: that all truly excellent men are modest, and make no display of their sympathy with what is great and good, though they really possess it. — *ἐπαχθεῖς*] "offensive," "disgusting," i. e. because unsuited to his character and in every way out of taste. — *ὥσπερ . . . βωῶντα*] "as if in a tragedy, exclaiming." Such exclamations were common in tragedies, which are designed to exhibit the workings of strong passions. — *ταῦτα . . . λέγοντος*] "for these things doubtless you heard him speaking," i. e. in the peroration of his speech.

128. *μνησθῆναι*] "to mention," "to speak of." — *ἧς τῶν μὲν, κ. τ. λ.*] "which not one of those really having obtained would say any such thing concerning himself, but would even blush to hear another one say it, while to those destitute of it like yourself, yet pretending to it through stupidity, the result is, that they cause those to grieve who hear them laying claim to it, not that they appear to be such themselves." *ὡς ἀληθῶς* mean, together, "really," *ὡς* having the effect of strengthening the meaning of the adverb, just as it often does the superlative. K. § 343, R. 2. *τοιούτοις* is put in the dative to agree with the case after *περίεστιν*. K. § 307, 2.

129. *τοῦ πρώτου*] "what first." *τοῦ* for *ὅτου*, the direct for the indirect. K. 344, R. 1. — *τῷ πρὸς . . . ξύλον*] "who teaches school near the temple of Theseus, wearing heavy stocks and a wooden collar." The *χοῖνιξ* was properly a measure of capacity, and hence, as an instrument of punishment, must have been a kind of stocks or fetters into which the feet were inserted and confined. As to the *ξύλον*, this was a heavy collar of wood, into which the neck was inserted, so as to prevent it from all freedom of motion. These were employed

as instruments of punishment, especially in the case of refractory slaves. Comp. Esch. Man. § 113. — τοῖς μεθημερινοῖς σθ] “resorting to the mid-day prostitutions (i. e. the most shameless prostitution) in the brothel, near the statue of the physician Hero, brought you up a pretty little doll and an accomplished actor of third-parts.” I think it clear that Hero is the proper name, and not Calamites, as some editions have it. See Orat. de F. L., p. 419, where the same person is called Ἡρώς ἰατρός. καλαμίτης seems to have been a term of contempt for a physician, from the use of κάλαμοι for surgical purposes, = “man of the probe.” The orator calls Æschines καλὸν ἀνδριάντα, on account of the smallness and primness of his person. The Scholiast on the passage says, Μικρὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ Αἰσχίνης τὸ σῶμα. By τριταγωνιστὴν reference is made to the former occupation of Æschines as a stage-player, and, furthermore, to the inferiority of his rank even among those of that profession. An actor of third-parts was the representative of the least important personages in a drama. For a full and clear account of the relation of the three actors in the Greek tragedy, the reader may consult Müller’s History of Grecian Literature, Vol. I. p. 306. — τριηραύλης] “galley-piper.” Perhaps her first husband.

130. βεβίωκεν] “has lived or done during his life.” — Οὐδὲ γὰρ καταρᾶται] “For neither were they (ᾧ βεβίωκεν) of any ordinary character, but such as the people execrate.” This is the interpretation of Dissen, which I have adopted with some hesitation. But certainly οὐδέ (“neither,” i. e. neither his conduct any more than his parentage) favors this rather than the other view, which makes it refer to his parentage. ὧν then stands by attraction instead of the nom. which occasionally takes place. K. § 332, R. 6. ἔτυχεν (“chanced to be,” “happened”) easily came to mean “to be of the common sort,” in which sense it is often found. The execration of the people, here referred to, was expressed at the opening of each assembly. See § 282. — Χθὲς μὲν οὖν καὶ πρῶην] This of course is to be taken in a modified sense.

For μέν οὖν ("or rather," "nay rather"), see K. § 316, R. — ἐκ τοῦ τυχοῦσας] "having obtained this nickname, evidently, from her doing and submitting to every thing." The reason of her being called Empusa on this account was, that this was an obscene spectre of the night. This was but a nickname, it will be perceived, her true name being Glaucia, which, by the addition of two syllables, as Demosthenes says, Æschines changed to Glaucothea, just as he did his father's, from Tromes to Atrometus. The names may have been changed because they were common with the lower classes; besides, the lengthened forms are more sounding. In opposition to his account of the parentage of Æschines, see his own account of his father, Contr. Ctes. § 191.

131. διὰ τούτων] "by means of these," i. e. the Athenians. — οὐχ ὅπως] "not only not." K. § 321, 3, (c).

132. ἀποψηφισθέντα] "rejected." He had somehow, it seems, contrived to get his name enrolled as a citizen, but, upon an examination of his claims to that right, the fraud was discovered and he rejected. For the mode of deciding questions of citizenship among the Greeks, see Shōman, Bk. III., chap. 3. Being enraged at this, he retired to Philip and made arrangements with him to burn the navy-yards of the Athenians, for which purpose, at the time here alluded to, he had returned to the city. — Πειραιεῖ] "the Piræus." The principal port of Athens, where the navy-yards were. — ὥς ἐν ἐποίησεν] "as if I were doing outrageous things under a democratic form of government, insulting unfortunate citizens, and entering houses without a warrant, caused him to be released." For the partitive gen. (τῶν πολιτῶν), see § 27, n.

133. ἡ βουλὴ ἢ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου] "the council of the Hill of Mars or Areopagus." This was a venerable court at Athens, composed of the ex-archons who had filled their office blamelessly, holding its sessions in the open air, upon an elevation of ground called the Hill of Mars, from some traditional connection of Mars with the place. This court had

the cognizance of all cases of homicide, was intrusted with the guardianship of the laws, and in the time of Demosthenes, as appears from this as well as other passages, acted as a kind of superior court of police, making it its particular business to bring to justice men who might endanger the state. Comp. Herm. Polit. Antiq. § 109. — ἐν . . . συμβεβηκυῖαν] “having terminated in a very unfortunate result,” i. e. the discharge of the person referred to. οὐ δέον means properly “something which ought not to be,” i. e. something unusual, monstrous, unfortunate, or undesirable. — ἐπανήγαγεν . . . τοῦτου] “had brought him again before you, such a wretch would have been snatched away, and, escaping the penalty of his crime, would have been sent out of the country by this fine-spoken gentleman.” ὥς here = πρὸς. It is used, however, in this way only before nouns denoting intelligent objects.

134. Τοιγαροῦν . . . προδότην] “Accordingly, the council of Areopagus, acquainted as it was with these proceedings of this man at that time, when (ὥς) you, having, from the same thoughtlessness from which you neglect many of the public interests, chosen him advocate in the case relative to the temple in Delos, both selected it and made it arbiter of the matter, immediately rejected him as a traitor.” This, I believe, expresses the proper sense of this passage. But it is worth while to observe how much more complicated the sentence becomes in English, from the necessity of introducing every clause in its strictly *logical* order, instead of placing them in the *oratorical* order, and leaving the sense to be determined from the agreement of the different words. καὶ αὖτις, “and it,” refers for its antecedent to the council of Areopagus. The temple in Delos was intimately connected with the temple at Delphi, and consequently its control was a matter of great importance. The question here alluded to, was a contest with the Delians concerning its superintendence. — καὶ ταῦτα . . . ἔπραξε] “and this it did, giving the vote from the altar,” i. e. after having taken an oath at the altar. This custom, as ap-

pears from several passages in Demosthenes and other Greek authors, was common in the courts at Athens. The practice was probably adopted in order to give greater sacredness to their decisions, by appearing to act, as it were, under the eye of their gods. Comp. Herod. viii. 123, 2, Wess. and Valck.

135. *ὑπὲρ πάντων*] “in behalf of all,” i. e. all the court of Areopagus, these four being chosen to testify for the whole court.

136. *ὁμοίῳ γε*] “is like, I dare say.” Observe the ironical force of *γε*, and see F. L., p. 421, § 283. — *ὥς ἐν . . . ὑπεχώρησα*] “as if about to put the city to shame and show it to be in the wrong, then indeed I did not yield nor give way to Python, assuming an impudent tone and pouring forth a tide of abuse against you.” *πολλῷ ῥέοντι* (flowing with a torrent of words; like Horace’s *sulso multoque fluenti*. Sat. I. 7, 28. The individual here spoken of was one of the most eloquent orators of antiquity. He was originally of Byzantium, but early enlisted in the service of Philip, by whom he was employed in various public matters, but especially on embassies. For the occasion here alluded to, on which he visited Athens accompanied by ambassadors from the allies of Philip, See Thirlw. Ch. XLV.

137. *μετὰ ταῦθ’ ὕστερον*] “thereupon afterwards.” An oratorical expansion not uncommon. See § 36: *εὐθὺς, οὐκ εἰς μακράν*. — *τῷ κατασκόπῳ*] i. e. from Philip. Having been sent by him to observe the movements at Athens relative to liberating Eubœa and sending aid to the Hellespont. See § 79, n. — *τῇ φύσει*] “by nature,” “to all intents and purposes.” — *ἐπὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν*] “before the generals.” The generals tried cases of treason.

138. *Καὶ γὰρ . . . ἔχει*] “For evidently the case is somehow as follows”; i. e. though he should proceed to enumerate ever so many of his crimes, they would be recollected but faintly and without suitable indignation. *οὕτω*, though commonly referring to what precedes, occasionally refers to what follows. K. § 303, 1, R. 1. — *ὥς*] By attraction for the

acc., and governed by *ὑπηρετῶν* in a kind of pregnant sense, — “doing as a service.” — *ὑποσκειλίζειν*] “to trip up, to thwart.” — *τῆς ἐπὶ . . . ἀνταλλαττόμενοι*] “bartering away the interests of the city for the pleasure and delight there is in (listening to) revilings.” *ἡδονῆς* is governed by *ἀνταλλαττόμενοι* as a gen. of price. K. § 275, 3. — *τοῖς ἐχθροῖς . . . πολιτεύεσθαι*] “to take bribes in the service of the enemy, than to manage affairs, having taken a stand in your defence.”

189. *δὴ*] “quite certainly,” “as is well known.” Referring to the certainty and notoriety of the act. K. 315, 1. — *πρὸ τοῦ πολεμεῖν*] “before the war,” i. e. before the open renewal of hostilities. — *Ἄλλ’ ἐπειδὴ κ. τ. λ.*] The events spoken of in this and the following lines have been alluded to before (§§ 79, 80), and explained as being some of the preliminary steps towards the renewal of hostilities. *ἐπειδὴ*, in the first part of the passage, qualifies all the verbs as far as *ὁ τ. ἄνθρωπος* (i. e. *ὁ ἄνθρωπος*), after *ἐπορεύεσθ’*, means Philip, who is spoken of thus in contempt. *ἰαμβειοφάγος* means, literally, “a devourer of iambics,” i. e. a wretched, mouthing actor, tragedies being written in iambics; or it may refer to his slanderous character, as iambics were used in satire. — *Εἰ δέ . . . ὕδατι*] “But if he says (there is any such decree), let him now show it during my time”; lit. “during my water,” the time being measured by an instrument called the *clepsydra*. This was a glass vessel filled with water, in the bottom of which there was a small aperture, through which the water issued slowly (stealing out, as it were, and hence receiving its name, from *κλέψις ὕδωρ*), and fell into another vessel, by the rise of the water in which they judged of the time. This instrument was used in the Athenian courts, in most causes, to measure the time allowed to each speaker, which varied according to the nature and importance of the cause. — *Καίτοι, κ. τ. λ.*] “And yet there is a necessity, one of two things, either, having nothing to complain of in the measures proposed by me at that time, he does not propose others in their stead, or, being intent upon the interests

of the enemy, does not bring forward any better than these." We have here an *enthymen*, or an abridged syllogism. Thus: "Proposing no decree proves one of two things; Æschines proposed no decree (as shown above), therefore one of these two things is true of him." The enthymen has all the cogency of the syllogism, without its rigidity and formality. It is much used by Demosthenes; as, §§ 24, 47, 124, 196, 217. *θάτερον* is a kind of adverbial acc., expressing the equivalent idea to what follows, governed by the general idea of *doing*, expressed in a modified way by the *two verbs*, *γράφειν* and *φέρειν*. Jelf's K. § 579, 4.

140. *μὲν οὖν*] "nay rather." See § 130, n. — *Καὶ τὰ . . . λαθάνειν*] "And the city, as it seems, was able to bear other things, and this man to perform them without being detected." — *περὶ οὗ . . . πόθεν*] "concerning which he expended the many words, or told that long story (i. e. in his speech, p. 69), rehearsing the decrees concerning the Amphissian Locrians, as if about to pervert the truth. But it is not of this nature (i. e. so easily perverted); how can it be?" The decrees here spoken of were the decrees of the Amphictyons relative to the Locrians of Amphissa, the gen. being of the objective kind. K. § 265, 2, (b). *τοὺς πολλοὺς*, "the many," "those many," the article being used as a demonstrative, for what was well known or notorious. K. § 244, 6. *Τὸ δ'*, "whereas," "but" (K. § 247, 3, a). *ἀληθές* is understood. For *πόθεν* see § 47, n. The crime of Æschines here alluded to was the getting up of an Amphictyonic war against the Amphissians, thus opening a field for the ambition of Philip.

141. *ἅπαντας καὶ πάσας*] *ἅπαντας* ("all together") seems to have been used to include both gods and goddesses in a general way, and *πάσας* to have been added as a sort of afterthought ("and goddess too"). — *τὸν Ἀπόλλω . . . πόλει*] "the Pythian Apollo, who is the paternal deity of the city." Apollo was originally the principal divinity of the Dorians, but was adopted by the other Grecian tribes, to a greater or less extent, and especially by the Ionians, who became at an early

period the possessors of Attica. On account of this adoption of the religion of Apollo, as is supposed, Ion, the mythological father of the Ionian race, was represented in the ancient legends as the son of Apollo; and hence it was that Apollo was called the paternal deity of the city. Comp. Müller's *Hist. Dorians*, Vol. I. pp. 257-263. — *εἰ μὲν . . . δῆμῳ*] “if I should speak the truth to you (i. e. now), and then also immediately spoke it before the people.” — *εὐτυχίαν . . . σωτηρίαν*] “happiness . . . safety” i. e. in the highest sense, as depending upon the gods. Thus perilling his soul upon the point, as in an oath. — *πρὸς*] “on the side of,” “out of regard to.” — *ἀνόνητόν*] “devoid of.” Separative gen.

142. *Τί οὖν . . . σφοδρῶς*] “Why now have I imprecated these things upon myself, and why have I been so vehement?” The perf. denotes “had and still continues to have,” — he still remaining under the imprecations; but the vehemence was confined to the simple utterance of the passage, and hence is properly expressed by the aor. The preceding passage (which is alluded to by the words under consideration) is a favorable specimen of the means resorted to by Demosthenes to enliven his discourse and relieve the monotony of narration or discussion. For this purpose he often suddenly breaks off the direct line of discourse to make an appeal to the gods, to his hearers, or to his adversary; or to press by interrogations, to recapitulate what he has said, or to anticipate objections; or by pretending to shrink from the utterance of thoughts which are in his mind; by professing uncontrollable indignation, and venting his rage in a strain of invective; by supplicating, deprecating, execrating, or some of the numerous turns of thought which Cicero, taking Demosthenes as a pattern, describes as being resorted to by the perfect orator. *Orat. c. 40.* — *Ὅτι . . . κείμενα*] “Because, although having documents lying in the public archives.” The participle expresses a concession. K. § 312, 4, (d). — *μὴ τῶν . . . ἐλάττω*] “lest this fellow should be thought too contemptible for the mischief done by him.” *ἀντῷ*, dat. of the agent. K. § 284, 3, (11).

143. οὗτός κακῶν] “this fellow is the one who helped him get it up, and, as far as one man can be (or “is *the one man* who”), is the cause of all these greatest of evils.” εἰς ἀνῆρ is employed to limit or modify τῶν μεγίστων. K. § 239, R. 2, (e). — οἱ μὲν συγκαθήμενοι] “while those sitting with him by invitation.” The assemblies of the people at Athens being open for all the citizens to attend in person, great facilities were presented to such as wished to carry any measure, or to make opposition to any, to succeed, even against the true sense of the people at large, by securing the attendance of their friends, who would act with them by concert, and thus enable them to carry their point. Allusion is made to this practice in the words under consideration. See F. L. § 1.

144. καὶ μεγάλα, κ. τ. λ.] “and you will be greatly assisted by it for the investigation of public affairs, and will see how great craftiness there was in Philip.”

145. ἀπαλλαγῇ] “escape,” i. e. from the contracted theatre of his country, his ports being blockaded by the Athenians (see below), and there being no way of entering Attica except as here proposed. — ἀλλὰ κακὰ] The principal Athenian generals in the time of Demosthenes were Chares, Charidemus, Diopithes, Timotheus, Chabrias, Iphicrates, Lycicles and Phocion. Of these only Phocion was distinguished for the higher qualities of a general, while most of the others were not only inferior generals, but men of little character. The large revenue, also, which Athens had formerly received from her allies, had been mostly lost by the Social War, which had alienated the greater part of her foreign dependencies; and the rest had been absorbed by the theoric fund, for the purpose of furnishing amusement to the populace. The generals, therefore, were obliged to maintain their forces as they could, which was usually done, either by calling upon the allies of Athens, if any remained, for *benevolences*, as they were called (see Orat. De Cherroneso, § 25), or, more commonly, by making descents upon defenceless cities and tribes, and

robbing them of what they wanted. This gave them more the character of adventurers than any thing else, and encouraged the business of privateering, which is but another name for piracy. This is what is alluded to by *ληστοῶν*, who were private adventurers, after the fashion of the public generals, seeking support for themselves and their attendants by pillaging, if possible, from the enemies of Athens, but if not, from her allies or those at peace with her. — *ἐκ τῆς . . . γιγνομένηων*] “proceeding from the country, or growing in the country.”

146. *μήτε . . . μήτε*] used instead of *οὔτε . . . οὔτε*, because the part. express a condition. K. § 318, 5. — *συνέβαινε . . . κακοπαθεῖν*] “but it happened to him, conquering in war the generals, of such character as they were (for I omit the consideration of this), whom you sent out, to suffer from the nature of his situation and the relative advantages of the two parties,” i. e. themselves and Philip. *τῷ πολέμῳ* is opposed to *τῇ φύσει τοῦ τόπου*, etc. which follows.

147. *βαδίζειν ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς*] “to march against you.” — *οὐδένα*] I have substituted this for *οὐδέν’ αἶν* (which would be easily confounded with it), since the laws of the language plainly require it. K. § 255, 3. — *τὰ μὲν . . . πείσειν*] “that he should carry some things by deception and others by persuasion.” — *πόλεμον . . . ταραχήν*] “to excite a war for the Amphictyons and disturbance in the assembly.” *περὶ*, “round among,” “through,” “in.” — *εἰς γὰρ, κ. τ. λ.*] Philip might naturally have supposed that he would be wanted in such circumstances, from his having previously executed with great vigor and success the decree of the Amphictyons against the Phocians.

148. *ἱερομνημόνων*] “Hieromnemons.” One class of the delegates sent to the Amphictyonic Council by the different states of Greece. There was another class of delegates, mentioned below, called *πυλάγορα*. The principal object of this council or league was to defend their common sanctuaries, and especially that at Delphi. Hence, the council being religious in its nature, some have supposed the *hieromnemons* to

have been priests; but there is no evidence of this that I know of. Their business at the meetings of the council seems to have been, either to prepare subjects for the consideration of the *pylagoræ*, or to execute their decrees. For a more particular account of the nature and organization of this council, see Herm. Polit. Antiq. §§ 13 and 14. — *τῶν ὑπεναντίων*] “his enemies.”

149. *προβληθεὶς*] “having been brought forward, or nominated.” — *πόλεως ἀξίωμα*] “dignity of the city,” i. e. the office of deputy to the Amphictyonic Council. — *πάντα . . . ἐμισθώθη*] “having dismissed and neglected all other things, he accomplished those things for which he was hired,” i. e. by Philip. — *μύθους*] “legends.” Referring to the musty lore which Æschines Adv. Ctesiph. § 107, seq. raked up relative to the Cirrhæan territory. This was a district lying on the Corinthian Gulf, and around the ancient Crissa or Cirrha, which, before its destruction by the Amphictyons, on account of its ill-treatment of pilgrims to the temple, was the port of Delphi. After its destruction it was consecrated to Apollo and devoted to perpetual desolation. The Locrians of Amphissa, however, in violation of this decree of the Amphictyons, as it seems, had appropriated the district to themselves, and were cultivating it like common land. This crime Æschines, on the occasion here alluded to, charged upon them; in self-defence, as he states, and in the heat of passion, as a retort upon one of the Amphissian deputies who had accused the Athenians of impiety, and as deserving to be excluded from the Council; but, as Demosthenes contends, at the instigation of Philip, and for the purpose of exciting an Amphictyonic war against them, and thus opening a field for his ambition. — *ἀνθρώπους . . . λόγων*] “men unacquainted with the tricks of speech.” The *hieromnemons* are thus spoken of, according to Hermann (§ 14, 15), on account of their being chosen by lot, and hence, of course, as a general thing, being men of the common class, and of no experience in public business. — *περιελθεῖν*] “to survey,” “set off.” See the following decree.

150. οὐδεμίαν . . . ἐκείθεν] “although the Locrians brought no action against us, nor even what he now falsely pretends they did. But you will see (that they did not) from this,” i. e. what follows. Æschines, in his speech (§ 116), states, in justification of his attack upon the Locrians, that they brought a suit (δίκην) before the Amphictyons to fine the Athenians fifty talents, for dedicating certain shields in a new chapel dedicated to Apollo, and on his attempting to defend his countrymen, one of the Locrian deputies inveighed against them for their impiety, and as deserving to be expelled from the council (ἀ . . . προφασίζεται).—Ἐπὶ . . . ἀρχῆς] “Under what administration or archonship?” Public documents or records, as has already been remarked, received date from such or such an archon.—κατερχώ] This is the second person singular of the imperfect middle of καταρχόμαι.

151. μικροῦ] ὡς δεῖν being understood. K. § 341, R. 3.—εἰς ἐπιούσαν πνλαίαν] “to the following session.” Some put a comma after this phrase and connect it with ἦλθον. The session was called πνλαία from Thermopylæ, where it was generally held.—ἐπὶ τὴν . . . ἡγόν] “brought (the matter) to Philip as general.” ἡγεμόνα, since the suggestion of Lambinus to that effect, has usually been considered as standing for ἡγεμονίαν; but Schäfer supposes προᾶγμα to be understood here, and quotes an altogether parallel passage from the Third Philippic, p. 125, where it is expressed after ἡγόν. This explanation is much the most satisfactory of the two.

152. ἢ γὰρ . . . αἰρεῖσθαι] “for they said it was necessary, either that they themselves should contribute and support mercenaries and punish such as would not do this, or choose him general.”—ἐρῶσθαι φράσας πολλὰ] “having bid a long adieu.” This infinitive means literally “to be strong,” but was used like τὸ χαίρειν, in the sense of “farewell.” See the same phrase Orat. F. L. p. 419. In other places we find it with both εἰπεῖν and λέγειν, in the same sense. See Orat. de Pace. p. 62, fin. The idea conveyed in this

place is, that Philip departed widely from his professed designs against the Cirrhæans and Locrians, in the act here spoken of.

153. *μετέγνωσαν*] “had repented *or* changed their mind.” The Thebans, it will be recollected, had been associated with Philip in the war against Phocis, and were beholden to him for many favors. By the taking and garrisoning of Elatea, however, their eyes were opened to the true character of his designs. Elatea was the principal town in the eastern part of Phocis, and so situated as to command the defiles which form the principal entrance, in that direction, to Bœotia, and hence to Attica. — *νῦν . . . ἐκείνοι*] “but as it is, *or* as the matter turned, they prevented him at least from a sudden eruption.” *νῦν* here refers to the course which events had taken in accordance with his policy, as opposed to that desired by his adversaries. The *τὸ* before *ἐξαίφνης* refers to *εἰσπεσεῖν*, to be supplied from the preceding sentence, which is used as a noun with *αὐτὸν* accusative before it, and is governed by *ἐπέσχον*.

154. *Ἐπὶ ἱερέως*] “Under the priest.” According to Hermann (§ 14. 12), the archon of Delphi (who, as he was connected with a religious establishment would naturally be called *ἱερεύς*) was the Eponymus of the Amphictyons, or the magistrate from whom the year was named. — *ἐαρινῆς πύλαιας*] “at the spring session.” The Council had two sessions annually, one in the spring and one in the autumn, sometimes at Delphi and sometimes at Thermopylæ. — *συνέδροις*] Hermann supposes these to be the same as the *hieromnemons*. — *τῷ κοινῷ*] “the commons,” i. e. the body of the citizens who happened to be present from the various states belonging to the league. These, according to the author just quoted, constituted the assembly, while the two classes of deputies corresponded to the senate in a democracy.

155. *τὸ κοινὸν . . . συνέδριον*] The Amphictyonic Council was called the common council or congress of the Greeks, because it embraced nearly all of the original tribes of Greece, to-

gether with their colonies. Herm. § 12.—*Ἀρχων Μησιθείδης*, κ. τ. λ.] The beginning of the decree by which Æschines was made pylagoras.

156. *ὡς οὐχ Θηβαῖοι*] “when the Thebans did not listen,” i. e. to his proposition to unite with him against Athens.—*τάς ἀφορμάς*] “starting-points,” “facilities,” “means.”

157. *τοῖς δημοιουργοῖς συνέδροις*] “to the magistrates and councillors.” *δημοιurgoί* were magistrates common in the Peloponnesus. Müller, *Hist. Dorians*, Vol. II., p. 144.—*πλημμελοῦσιν εἰς*] “offend against.”—*ληγλατοῦσι*] “plunder,” “ravage.”—*εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα*] *εἰς* is used on account of the previous *motion* implied in *συναντᾶτε* (*come and meet*). K. 300, 3, b.—*ἐνεστώτος μηνός*] “the present month.” This is governed as a gen. of time. K. § 273, 4, (b). There is some difficulty in making out the correspondence between the Attic month Boëdromion and the Corinthian month here named, since Panemus corresponded to the Athenian month preceding Boëdromion. But Boeckh (as cited by Dissen) supposes this to have been an intercalary year at Corinth, and this month to have been carried forward in consequence.—*Τοῖς δὲ*, κ. τ. λ.] The reading here adopted is that supported by the best authority, and yet no possible sense can be extracted from it. There can be no doubt that the text in this place is corrupt. Schäfer proposes, in so desperate a case, to leave out all that intervenes between *χρησόμεθα* and *ἐπιζημίους*, which would leave a kind of sense to the passage, which is all that can be said of any of the emendations which have been suggested.

158. *Μὴ τοίνυν ἀνθρώπου*] “Do not, therefore, O men of Athens, going around (i. e. walking up and down the agora, as the Athenians were wont to do, “either to tell or hear some new thing), say that Greece has suffered such things from one man alone,” i. e. Philip.

159. *μηδὲν εὐλαβηθέντα*] for one “fearing nothing.”—*ἀλιτήριον*] *homo piacularis*, i. e. “a man laden with the guilt of,” “the guilty cause.”—*Ὅν ὅπως ἀληθείας*] “Whom that

you did not by any possibility (*ποτέ*), as soon as you saw him, turn away from in disgust, I wonder; but, as it seems, there is a certain thick darkness with you before the truth," i. e. between them and the truth. The pres. tense is employed, as expressing a general truth, implying that the Athenians were very slow in detecting rogues.

160. *τούτοις ἐναντιούμενος*] "opposing, or in opposition to these things."—*τὰ ἔργα*] "the realities." Opposed to *τούς λόγους* below.

161. *Ὅρῶν γὰρ . . . διετέλουν*] "For seeing the Thebans and almost you, through the influence (*ὑπό*) of those seeking the interest of Philip, and corrupted in each state (i. e. Athens and Thebes), overlooking and not at all guarding against what was dangerous to both and deserving of much vigilance, viz. the permitting Philip to increase in strength, but on the contrary being ready for enmity and collision with each other, I continually watched that this might not be," i. e. that there might not be a rupture between Athens and Thebes, and thus Philip be permitted to gain strength by their disunion.

162. *Ἀριστοφῶντα . . . Εὐβούλῳ*] Two distinguished orators at Athens, and friends of Æschines, when living; but who, as appears from what follows, were dead at the time of the delivery of this speech.—*ταύτην τὴν φιλίαν*] "this friendship or alliance," i. e. of Athens and Thebes.—*ἐαυτοῖς*] Used reciprocally. K. § 302, 7.—*κίναδος*] "fox," i. e. an artful, knavish fellow; similar in import to another designation which he gives him, *περίτρομμα ἀγορᾶς*. See § 127, n.—*αἰσθάνει*] The more common reading, *αἰσχύνη*, is evidently incorrect, as it is inconsistent with the connection, especially the reason which is given in the following clause.—*ἃ γὰρ . . . δοκιμασάντων*] "for in what you charge upon me concerning the Thebans, you censure them much more than me, since they approved of this alliance before I did."

163. *συμπεριναμένῳ . . . ἔχθραν*] "while (*δὲ*) his other coadjutors united with him in completing the enmity against the Thebans."—*ἐλθεῖν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς*] "advanced against us,"

i. e. by suddenly turning aside from his course against Amphissa, and taking Elatea, and, as it would seem from the following decree, some other cities in the same vicinity. — καὶ εἰ μὴ . . . ἡδυνήθημεν] “and unless we had previously roused ourselves a little (i. e. in order to effect a union between the two cities), we should not even have been able to recover ourselves.” In some MSS. αὐτούς, and in others αὐτοὺς, is found after ἀναλαβεῖν, while in others neither form is found. This latter seems to me to be the preferable reading, since the second seems to give a wrong sense, and the first is not required by the usage of the verb. — οὕτω] This qualifies πόρρω, but is separated from it, as is often the case. See §§ 33, 220, n. — Ἐν οἷς, κ. τ. λ.] “But in what condition you were at that time in respect to your relations to each other, having heard these decrees and answers, you will know.”

. 164. βουλῆς . . . γνώμῃ] i. e., probably, “brought forward by the generals, approved by the Senate, and now passed by the people.” — αἷς μὲν] Used demonstratively for τὰς μὲν; K. § 331, R. 1; and responded to by τινὰς δέ, instead of αἷς δέ. — μάλιστα μὲν] “especially,” “above all things.” Always indicates the first choice among two or more things or courses of action. See §§ 267, 324. — πρὸς τὸ βουλευσασθαι] “for consultation,” “deliberation.” — τὰς ἀνοχὰς] “the truce,” “armistice.” A noun used mostly in the plural, like *induciæ*.

165. πολεμάρχου] This was the title of the third archon in point of dignity. The title was given him originally on account of his acting as general in the army; but this did not belong to his duties in later times. — ἐπειδὴ . . . καταστῆσαι] “since Philip is endeavoring to place the Thebans in estrangement towards us, or to estrange the Thebans from us.” — παραβαίνων . . . συνθήκας] “violating the stipulations existing to him on our part,” i. e. between him and us. Referring, perhaps, to the peace so often alluded to; but, as some suppose, to another peace after the war of Byzantium. — ὅπως ἐνδεχομένως] “that as far as possible,” i. e. considering the circumstances of the case. — καὶ γὰρ . . . τῶν μετρί-

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ων] “for as yet they (i. e. the people) to come to the aid (i. e. to the defence interest against Philip) in any ordinary

166. αἵρεσιν] “choice,” “feeling,” καλέσασθαι] “to entice to yourselves. ταμένων] “But they thinking better (not wishing to yield their choice to you) in their interest.” ἐφ’ = “under,” “in the” 215, n. — παραπέμψαντες] “having sent down.”

167. ἀνανεοῦσθε] “you renew,” “renewed.” Formerly,” i. e. before he received the τὰ πρὸς . . . εἰρήνην] “to have sought” the construction of ἔχειν as an auxiliary § 310, 4, (k). — ἡσθην] “I was rejoiced from ἡδομαι.

168. ὥς οὐδ’ . . . Θηβαίων] “as if they should not conspire together, even if they should,” i. e. even if any such flagrant act as this should be done by him. συμπνευσόντων] “conspiring as our word *conspire*, and is of precisely the same meaning, like that word, literally, “to breathe together,” figuratively, “to agree or unite together in action with ὥς ἄν, see K. § 312, 6.

169. ἦκε δ’ . . . πρυτάνεις] “and he came denouncing to the prytanes.” ὥς = εἰς] “as” justly been considered by critics as a mistake. The circumstances are so happily selected and forcibly presented, that we seem to see the scene which is described. — ἐξαναστάντες] “arising” the circumstances here mentioned are the circumstances of excitement; the prytanes leaving their office and of them proceeding to disperse the hucksters and to burn their sheds (or rather, p. 170, below), while others called the general assembly. Various reasons, none of them, however,

have been assigned for the dispersing of the hucksters and burning their sheds; such as the design of forcing them from their employments and securing their presence in the assembly; or of clearing away all obstructions to the hurried approach of the people to the assembly. But, as the people did not meet till the next morning, and as, consequently, measures might have been taken in the mean time to secure these ends without resorting to so violent acts, the conjecture of Schäfer seems more reasonable, viz. that these sheds, being of combustible materials, were ordered to be burnt as a signal, so as to call in the people from the country as extensively as possible. But more probably these γέρορα were not the sheds of the hucksters, but the hurdles which were used ordinarily to surround the place of assembly: or, it may be, simply bundles of fagots, kept to be burnt for signal-fires upon extraordinary occasions. The generals were summoned so as to make the necessary military preparations, and the trumpeter as a usual attendant. — *Τῇ δ' . . . ἡμέρᾳ*] “On the following day early in the morning”; lit. “at the same time with the opening of day.” — *ὑμεῖς*] “you,” i. e. the people generally, in distinction from the Senate. — *καὶ πρὶν . . . καθῆτο*] “and before that (the Senate) had time to deliberate and pass a preliminary decree, the whole people were seated above.” This, too, was an evidence of extraordinary excitement, since ordinarily there was great difficulty in getting the people together to transact business; for which purpose a small compensation was given to those who were there promptly, and even compulsory means were resorted to, at times, to secure their attendance. But on this occasion, such was the excitement, that they all assembled before the Senate had agreed on a decree to submit to them for approval. The people are here spoken of as having taken their seats *above*, on account of the Pnyx, in which they met, being in a more elevated situation than the Senate-chamber.

170. *εἰσῆλθεν ἡ βουλὴ*] i. e. into the assembly. Not the whole Senate, probably, but only the *prytanes* and the *proedri*.

See § 29, n. — *κακείνος οὐδείς*] “and he spoke (i. e. the messenger), the crier asked, ‘who wishes to harangue the people?’ but no one came forward.” This invitation was given at the opening of every assembly. Originally the crier called upon any of the citizens over fifty years old to speak first, and after them any others who wished. But this custom soon fell into disuse. — *ἦν γὰρ ἡγεῖσθαι*] “for the voice which the crier sends forth according to the laws, this it is just to consider the common voice of the country.”

171. *παρελθεῖν*] “to have come forward,” i. e. to the Bema, to harangue the people. — *οἱ τριακόσιοι*] “the three hundred” (arising would have advanced to the Bema). These were the three hundred richest citizens, who formed the first quarter of each of the twenty symmoriae who were bound to discharge the duties of the trierarchy (§ 99. n), called, § 103, *ἡγεμόνες τῶν συμμοριῶν*. — *εἰ δὲ ἐποίησαν*] “but if for those being both these, viz. both well-disposed towards the city and rich, they (would have come forward) who afterwards made so large contributions to the state; for they did this from their patriotism and wealth.” Reference is here made to the other wealthy citizens not included in the first class, who nevertheless, in the ensuing struggle with Philip, made great sacrifices in defence of their country.

172. *ἀλλὰ ἀρχῆς*] “but for one having attended closely to the course of events from the beginning.” This is a phrase of precisely the same nature, and of nearly the same form, as that used by the Evangelist Luke in the first part of his Gospel, in allusion to his qualifications for such an undertaking: *παρηκολονθηκότι ἀνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς*.

173. *Ἐφάνην ἐγώ*] “I therefore appeared such an one on that day.” For this use of *οὗτος* (very much like *τοιούτος*), see § 236; also Soph. Antig. v. 66. — *τὴν τῆς ἐννοίας τάξιν*] “the post of patriotism.” — *ἐξηταζόμεν*] “I was proved or found.” This verb properly means “to examine,” “to test,” but it here expresses the *result* of a severe test or examination.

174. ὥς φιλίππῳ] “as if the Thebans were devoted to Philip.” For the part. in the gen. absolute with ὥς, see § 168, n.

175. Πλησίον βιασθῶσιν] In this passage the orator gives the reason which he supposed influenced Philip to take the step in question.

176. εἴ τι μεμνησθαι] “if any thing unpleasant has been done by the Thebans towards us, to call up this.” δύσκολον is a softened expression for ἀδίκον. — εἰτα γένησθε] “then I fear lest those (of the Thebans) now opposing, having received him, and all with one consent having united themselves to Philip, they should both advance against Attica. Nevertheless, if you will listen to me, and surrender yourselves (lit. *be*) to the consideration, not to contending about what I may say.” φιλιππισιάντων, literally, “Philipizing.”

177. ἐπανεῖναι] “to lay aside.” This is the second aorist infinitive, from ἐπανήμι. — μεταθέσθαι] “to transfer,” i. e. their fear. — ἔπειτ', κ. τ. λ.] Eleusis, the place here spoken of, was a town in Attica, lying towards Thebes from Athens, and therefore a desirable place as a rendezvous for the forces, in order to counteract at Thebes the influence of Philip's army stationed at Elatea. The age of majority at Athens, here spoken of (ἡλικία), was nineteen, at least as far as liability to military duty was concerned. Comp. Herm. Polit. Antiq. § 123. — ἵνα τοῖς ἴῃ] “that there may be to those at Thebes preferring your cause, equally (i. e. with the faction in favor of Philip), courage to speak in defence of their rights, seeing that, as there is a force at Elatea ready to assist those selling their country to Philip, thus you are ready and will assist those who wish to contend for their liberty, if any one advances against them.” The two factions at Thebes, that in favor of Philip, and that in favor of uniting with Athens against him, were very equally divided, and it was only by the most energetic and untiring efforts that Demosthenes gained the voice of the majority in favor of his measures.

178. κελεύω] “I direct,” “I advise.” — κυρίους] “direct-

tors." — καὶ τοῦ . . . ἐξόδου] "both of the time when it is necessary to march thither, and of the expedition itself." Wolf considers these specifications as meaning the same thing, but Reiske justly says, in reference to the distinction between them, — "De tempore modoque expeditionis, quando, et quantas numero copias, exire oporteat in castra versus Thebas." — πῶς . . . κελύωσιν] "how do I advise to conduct the matter? For ascertaining this give your mind very attentively to me. (I advise) not to ask any thing of the Thebans, for the occasion is disgraceful (or it is disgraceful to do so on such an occasion), but to offer to assist them if they urge it." The sense of the passage is this: — That they should not ask aid of the Thebans, but rather offer them aid, since it would be disgraceful to appear to be seeking aid for themselves, when the Thebans were in so much more immediate danger. — ἢ ἐὰν . . . πεπραγμένον] "that in case they should receive these proposals, and commit themselves to us, we may both have accomplished what we desire (i. e. a measure important to Athens), and may have done it under a pretext worthy of the city (i. e. from a regard for Thebes); but if, on the contrary, it should not happen that you should gain your object (i. e. succeed in the negotiations for an alliance with Thebes), that they may reproach themselves, if in this case they fail of any thing, while nothing disgraceful or grovelling shall have been done by you."

179. οὐκ εἶπον, κ. τ. λ.] "I did not speak of these things indeed, and yet not propose them," etc. This is an instance of the climax, so called, on account of the sentence rising step by step like *stairs* (κλίμαξ).

180. βούλει] This is the common form of the second person singular indicative of this verb, instead of βούλη. While the clerk was getting ready to read the decree just called for, the orator employs the time in rendering ridiculous, in view of his eminent services on this occasion, the nickname Batalus, given him in youth on account of his stammering (often alluded to by Æschines in his speeches, as F. L., p. 41). I

am aware that a different origin has been assigned to this name, which Æschines follows in his oration against Timarchus (p. 18). But this is evidently nothing more than a play upon the word, as *βάταλος*, according to Passow, meant both a stammerer and an effeminate or debauched person; which latter meaning Æschines gave to it, on account of its conveying a greater reproach. Furthermore, the common tradition that Batalus, from whom the name was derived, was a flute-player, would seem to indicate that the nickname had reference to some defect in the manner of his speaking; as the blowing of wind-instruments often affects the voice, and especially gives to the performer that inflation of the cheeks which is common in mouthing and bad speakers. At all events, it seems evident that Demosthenes understood it so, from his proceeding at once to compare himself in this character with Æschines as a bad actor, — as an *ιαμβιοφάγος*, or “eater of iambs.” And this, by the way, is probably what is alluded to by *ἐπέτριψας*, “you murdered,” a few lines below. — *εἶναι θῶ*] “set down to be, or as being?” — *Βούλει . . . σκηνῆς*] “Do you wish (me to set down) myself to be one whom you reviling and deriding might call Batalus, but (to set down) you as no ordinary hero, but one of the heroes of the stage.” The *dramatis personæ*, in the ancient plays, were distinguished heroes; and hence Demosthenes asks his adversary, if, by calling him by the name of one of those characters which he had formerly represented, he should set him down for no ordinary hero. — *Κολυτιῶ*] This was the least respectable quarter of the city, lying northeast of the temple of Theseus. To have failed in such a place, added to his disgrace. See Wordsworth’s *Athens and Attica*, p. 179.

182. *Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις*] “Grecian cities.” *πόλεις* is here placed in apposition with its parts, *αἷς μὲν, τινὰς δὲ, and ἐνίαις δὲ*, instead of being in the gen. and governed by them. K. § 266, 3. The cities referred to in the text, just above, have been before mentioned (see §§ 60, 70), but it is uncertain what cities these are, unless they may be those mentioned in

§ 164. — οὐδὲν χρώμενος] “doing nothing abhorrent either to the spirit of his country or to his own character, and using his present fortune intemperately.” The genitives πατρίδος and τρόπου are governed by ἀλλότριον. K. § 271, 3.

183. Καὶ ἔως πλημμελεῖσθαι] “And as long as they saw him destroying barbarous cities, although their own (i. e. cities out of Greece belonging to Athens), the people of Athens considered of less importance the offence committed against itself.”

184. δέδοκται] “it has pleased,” or “it has been decreed.” Taylor proposes to substitute δεδόχθαι instead of the indic., making it depend for government, as is usual in decrees, upon εἶπεν, near the beginning. As, however, this emendation is purely conjectural, it is better to suppose that, as the preamble had been long, its proper dependence was overlooked, and therefore a different mood adopted. — ἥρωσι] “heroes.” These were mythic characters who had been deified, and were regarded as demigods and tutelary divinities by the people. — διότι ἐποιῶντο] “that they (their ancestors) considered it of more importance.” διότι = ὅτι, §§ 167, 184. K. § 338, 2. — ἐντὸς Πυλῶν] “within Thermopylæ.” The reason for directing a squadron to this place was, to cut off Philip’s communication with his country, and otherwise to annoy him in that quarter.

185. τὸν Φίλιππον] Governed by καταπλεγέντας. K. § 279, 5. — καὶ ὅτι ἀλλήλας] “and (to say) that the Athenians, forgetting all injuries, if formerly there has been any estrangement to the two cities towards each other,” i. e. between the two cities.

186. Ἔτι δὲ ὁμοφύλῳ] “And besides, neither do the people of Athens consider the people of Thebes alien from them, on account of their relationship not only in origin but in race,” i. e. they were of Grecian origin like themselves (which Philip was not), but whether any closer relationship existed between them is not certain. The whole sentence being rendered negative by οὐδὲ, the negatives (οὔτε . . .

οὕτως) in the two distributive clauses should be rendered positively in English. — καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Ἡρακλείους, κ. τ. λ.] The allusion here is to the migration of the Dorians from the northern regions into the Peloponnesus, under the name of "The Return of the Descendants of Hercules." This expedition is represented as having been undertaken by the descendants of Hercules in order to recover the right to the dominion of the Peloponnesus, of which their illustrious ancestor had been deprived by Eurystheus. Now the Athenians, as it happened, had assisted them in making good their claims; which was considered as a kindness done to the ancestors of the Thebans, because Hercules, when expelled from the Peloponnesus, was received at Thebes, and became a Theban hero. The other act of kindness here alluded to consisted in receiving Œdipus, their king, with his children, when banished from Thebes in obedience to the direction of an oracle.

188. *Αὐτῇ . . . τούτων*] "This was the beginning and first establishment of affairs in regard to Thebes (i. e. of a good understanding with Thebes), in matters previous to these measures the cities having been drawn into hostilities, and hatred, and distrust, by means of these," i. e. Æschines and his associates.

189. *Ὁ γὰρ . . . συκοφάντης*] "For the counsellor, and the malicious accuser." The difference here pointed out between these two characters is just and important. The counsellor fearlessly gives such advice as the emergency requires, and risks the consequences; but the sycophant, avoiding all responsibility by his silence on such occasions, watches only for evils flowing from the measures of others at which to carp and find fault. The distinction is very much the same as between the statesman and the mere politician.

190. *Ἦν μὲν . . . καιρὸς*] "That, therefore, as I said, was the proper time." — *ἐγὼ δὲ . . . ποιῶμαι*] "I go so far." *ὑπερβολὴν ποιῶμαι* is a circumlocution equivalent to *ὑπερβάλλω*. See F. L., p. 447, fin. — *ἐνῆν*] "it was possible, i. e." to choose or adopt, *προαιρεῖσθαι* being understood. See § 193.

— *Εἰ γὰρ . . . λαθεῖν*] “For if there be any measure, which any one even now has discovered, which, if taken at that time, would have been useful, I say that this ought not to have escaped my notice.” *λανθάνειν*, though apparently intransitive in many cases, properly takes the acc. K. § 279, 4.

191. *τουτουςι*] “these,” i. e. the Athenians.

192. *ἀφείται*] “has been put aside,” and therefore “is disregarded.” The orator proceeds to state in few words what a counsellor or statesman has to do, and consequently from what points of view his own measures should be judged of in the scrutiny which he calls upon his enemies to subject them to. He has not, he observes, anything to do with the past, but only with the present and future. His own measures, therefore, should be judged of exclusively with reference to the dangers which already existed, and those which threatened them in future. Besides, it was the *wisdom* of his measures with reference to these two points of time, and not their *issue*, which was to be considered; since the issue of all things is in the hands of the Deity, and cannot be controlled by man. — *ἡ δὲ προαίρεσις αὐτῇ*] “but the very aim, plan, or motive” (of one’s policy), i. e. without reference to the results to which it had led. — *διάνοιαν*] “purpose,” “mind,” “state of mind.” See § 210.

193. *ἐνεστησάμην*] “I instituted,” “set on foot.”

194. *Εἰ δ’ ὁ συμβὰς, κ. τ. λ.*] “But if the tempest (or storm) that befell (i. e. the attack of Philip) has overpowered not only us, but all the other Greeks, what ought to be done? Why, just as one would do if a person should accuse of the shipwreck the owner of a ship who had done everything for safety, and provided the vessel with everything by which he supposed she would be secure, but which afterwards encountered a storm, when her tackling labored or even gave way altogether.” *ἄν* refers to a suppressed predicate, to be supplied from the preceding verb, which predicate is more definitely explained by *φήσεις* below, with which the particle is repeated. K. § 261, 4. *ναύκληρον* means the owner of the

ship, or the one who fitted it out, and not the pilot or captain. For the rendering given to the participles in the latter part of the passage, see K. §§ 309, 3, (b); 312, 4, (a).

195. οὕτως προᾶξαι] "it was fated for us to come off, or fare, thus." For this rendering of προᾶξαι, see § 252, n. — ἐπὲρ οὗ φωνάς] "for which (i. e. that the Thebans might join themselves to him) he (Philip) used every argument, or exerted all his power of lungs. — τῆς μάχης] "the battle," i. e. of Chæronea, this being the decisive battle, in which the struggle with Philip ended. Chæronea was a city of Bœotia, as Demosthenes here states, three days' journey from Attica. — Ἄρ' οἶσθ' τότε δ'—] "Do you (Æschines) know, that *now*, indeed (i. e. the counsels of Demosthenes having been followed), to stand, to assemble, to regain breath, many things of what tended to the safety of the city one, two, and three days gave; *but then*" —. The consequences intended to be implied are left to the hearer's simagination. The mark of interrogation is wanting, on account of the incompleteness of the last clause. νῦν and τότε are opposed to each other: and as the former refers to the circumstances of the case alluded to, the latter must refer to what would have followed if events had taken a different course. — καὶ τὸ προβαλέσθαι συμμαχίαν] "and the placing before the city this alliance," i. e. the protecting the city by the alliance with Thebes.

196. μοι] "on my part." Ethical dat. K. 284. 3. (10), d. — τῆς αὐτῆς ἄλλοις] "you are guilty of the same ignorance with others." ἄλλοις is governed by τῆς αὐτῆς, which is an adjective of likeness. K. § 284, 3, (4).

197. οὐ γὰρ ἐχρῶντο] "for (had you proposed any better measures) they would not have adopted these," i. e. of mine. — ὅπερ δ' ἐξήτασαι] "but what a man of the most detestable character and most hostile to the city would have done, this you have been found doing after the results or calamities," i. e. bringing Demosthenes to trial as the other sycophants did the friends of Athens, and consequently ene-

mies of Philip, in the other places mentioned below. The phrase ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβαῖσιν, "after the results," is introduced in opposition to εἰς ταῦτα above, in order to exhibit Æschines as maliciously active after the fate of his country was decided, but stupidly indifferent while its fate was pending.

198. Καίτοι . . . ἀπέχειτο] "And yet, to whomsoever the misfortunes of Greece were reserved, for him to become famous by them." The peculiarity of the construction consists in the finite verb being used personally instead of impersonally. See § 4, n. — καὶ ὅτῳ . . . ἐχθροῖς] "and to whomsoever the same times are profitable as to the enemies of the city." καί before τοῖς . . . ἐχθροῖς makes the construction coördinate, instead of leaving this dat. to be governed by οἱ αὐτοί. K. § 284, R. 3. — Ἀηλοῖς δὲ] "But you show this," i. e. that he was no friend of his country. — Ὡσπερ . . . κινεῖται] "As fractures and sprains, when any evil (sickness) seizes the body, then are affected." Allusion is here made to the physiological fact, that fractures and sprains, which in a healthy state of the body have not been felt for years, are discovered at once on the approach of weakness or disease. Just so, the orator says, it was with Æschines; when the body politic was in a healthy state, he took no part in public affairs; but when it had suffered injury, he at once made his appearance to censure those who had remained constantly at their posts. See the same illustration employed, Olynth. II. p. 24. to show the tendency of an invasion of a country by an enemy to discover to the people the evils of a government, to which they have been blinded by a brilliant succession of foreign campaigns.

199. Ἐπειδὴ . . . ἔγκειται] "But since he lays much stress upon the issue or the calamities." — ὑπερβολήν] "extravagance." — οὐδ' οὕτως . . . ἤν] "not even in this case could the city have departed from these" (counsels of mine). For the construction of the verbal here, see § 58, n. — εἶχε λόγον] "had an account," "regard."

200. δοκεῖ] Used personally here. — τότε . . . τούτῳ]

"but in the other case, claiming to be at the head of the other (Greeks), then relinquishing this." For *προεσάται*, see K. §§ 194, R. 3; 173, R. 2. Observe also, the difference between the pres. and aor. part., the former denotes a continued claim, the latter a shrinking from her usual position at the crisis referred to. — *Εἰ γάρ . . . πρόγονοι*] "For if she had yielded this (i. e. taking the lead in this contest) without a struggle, for which there is no danger that our ancestors did not incur." *ἄκοντι* is a gymnastic term, and means, literally, "without dust"; descriptive of one who retired from the palaestra without daring to wrestle, and consequently without the dust collected by that exercise. *οὐδένα κίνδυνον* is for *οὐδαὶς κίνδυνος*, being attracted into the case of its relative. See § 16, n.

201. *Τίσι δ' . . . πεποιημένοι*] "But with what eyes, by Jupiter, could we have looked upon those visiting the city (i. e. any who might visit the city, as was done by thousands, on account of its renown), if affairs had come to the pass which they have now come to, and Philip had been chosen leader and lord of all (the Greeks), while others, without us, had made the struggle that these things might not occur." The time of the tenses here is affected by *εἰ* and *ἄν*, or, perhaps it should be said, by the nature of the proposition. Butt. § 139, 10. See also, Philip I, § 1. n. For the attractions which Athens presented to visitors, see Isoc. Panegy. pp. 49 and 50. — *καὶ ταῦτα*] A phrase of frequent occurrence in Greek, and corresponding precisely to our phrase "and that too." See § 282, n.

202. *ἰσχυροῦν γερομέραν*] "becoming powerful," i. e. the most powerful tribe in Greece. Alluding to the state of things after the Peloponnesian war, when the Lacedemonians enjoyed an ascendancy in power over all the other tribes; which, however, as already mentioned, they lost at Leuctra in a contest with Thebes. Now, even under these circumstances, as Demosthenes says, when Athens was but a secondary power, she never would relinquish the right of taking the

lead of the other tribes in all struggles affecting the interests of the Greeks generally. Reference is here made to the *ἡγεμονία* or *precedency*, or *leading*, of which so much is said in Athenian history. — *μετὰ . . . προσεσθάναι*] “that this would have gladly been given to the city with many thanks, viz. to receive whatever it desired, and to retain its own possessions (if it would only submit) to perform what was commanded by another, and allow some of the other Greeks to take the precedency.” We have here a kind of metathesis by which infinitives are put instead of participles, in the clause expressing the condition on which the concession would have been made, and participles instead of infinitives in the clause stating the concession.

204. *οἱ καὶ, κ. τ. λ.*] Allusion is here made to the time of the Persian war, when the Athenians, under Themistocles, made great sacrifices in behalf of Greece, and gained to themselves enduring renown.

205. *τὸν τῆς . . . περιμένει*] “awaits the death of fate or natural death,” i. e. does not expose himself to death voluntarily, by incurring dangers in defence of his country, but waits till some extraordinary providence, or the regular course of nature, may bring him to an end. *μοίρας* is understood with *εἰμαρμένης*.

206. *Εἰ . . . ἐπεχείρουν*] Denies the fact, and is followed in the apodosis by the opt. with *ἄν*. K. 339. 3, α, β. — *ὥς ἄρα*] “that forsooth.” See § 22; also Popular Orations. VIII. § 4, note. — *προήγαγον*] “I incited,” lit. “I led forward,” “induced.” Thus differing from *προσάγειν*, which means “to carry through to a result.” — *προαιρέσεις*] “aims,” “habits,” “constant practice.” — *τῆς μέντοι . . . κατηγορῶν*] “but, indeed, I say that I share with you the services connected with each of the things done; but this man (*Æschines*) censuring all these measures,” i. e. the measures taken against Philip. In this passage the orator prepares the way for what follows, viz. that in censuring him *Æschines* was at the same time censuring the people at large; since they had enacted

and executed the measures which he had proposed. For the construction of *μετεῖναι* with a genitive and dative, see K. § 273, 3, (b), (a).

207. *τοῦδ' ἱ*] "this friend here," i. e. Ctesiphon. Ctesiphon had proposed to crown Demosthenes, on account of the high value of his public services, especially in the contest with Philip. If now he were condemned for this, it would be saying, of course, that his measures were not wise, and consequently that they had erred in following them. — *ἀγρομοσύνη*] "unkindness."

208. *Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, κ. τ. λ.*] "But it is not possible," etc. This is a passage of great celebrity, on account of its lofty and impassioned eloquence. Longinus, in his treatise *De Sublimitate* (§ 16), speaking of the use of rhetorical figures, thus remarks upon it:—"Demosthenes is introducing a proof in defence of his administration; what now was the simple way of expressing it? 'You did not err, ye who engaged in the contest in defence of the liberties of Greece, and of this you have familiar examples; for neither those who fought at Marathon, nor those who fought at Salamis, nor those who fought at Platæa, erred.' But when, as if suddenly inspired by a god, or possessed by Appollo, he thundered out that oath, 'It cannot be that you erred, — no, by those who fought at Marathon!' he seems by one form of the figure of adjuration, which I here call apostrophe, to deify those ancestors (suggesting that it is proper to swear by those having died so gloriously, as by gods), and inspire his judges with the spirit of those heroes, while he has changed a dry proof into the transcendent sublimity, pathos, and cogency of unusual and surpassingly beautiful oaths, and at the same time lodges in the hearts of his hearers a certain consolatory and healing word; till, being elated by these encomiums, they come to esteem the battle with Philip no less glorious than the victories at Marathon and Salamis." — *ὁ μὲν . . . κίχρηται*] "for what was the part of brave men was performed by them all, but the fortune which the divinity allotted to each of them that

they met." So, the orator would reason, has it been in the present case; we have acted the part of brave men, and ought to be honored as such, although we have not been successful.

209. ὦ γραμματοχύφων] "O execrable wretch and servile scribe!" The last of these nouns is derived from γράφω and κύπτω, from the stooping position of a scribe while writing. The idea intended to be conveyed by the term is, that he was a servile scribe, who, according to the Scripture expression, bowed down his back always"; that he was not in possession of an honorable post, but was an inferior clerk, who was compelled to bend over his desk for a living. Allusion is here made to the former occupation of Æschines, as a secretary to the petty magistrates. See § 261. — παρὰ τούτων] "from these," i. e. the Athenians. — ὧν τίς . . . οὕτοι] "what one of which did the present cause need?" i. e. what did any of these military proceedings have to do with this question pertaining to civil matters? Demosthenes here alludes to the cases of victories, etc., cited by his opponent, in his speech (p. 79), from the ancient history of Athens, in order to show how sparing the Athenians had always been of public honors. But these examples, he contends, had nothing to do with the case. — Ἐμὲ δέ, . . . ἴδου] "But, O actor of third-parts, assuming the spirit of whom was it proper for me, coming forward (παριόντα) as counsellor to the city concerning the precedence, to ascend the Bema?"

210. ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς διανοίας] "with the same state of mind," or "from the same principles." — ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν, κ. τ. λ.] "but (it is necessary for you to judge) the common suits, examining them by private laws and facts, but public systems of policy, having reference to the renowned deeds of our ancestors. And it is necessary for you, if you would do what is worthy of them, to consider, when you enter upon the trial of public causes, that each one of you receives with the staff and the symbol the spirit of the city"; i. e. becomes, as it were, a representative of the general tone of feeling, or spirit of the

city, and therefore is bound to maintain it in his decisions. In other words, the orator reminds his judges that they are bound by the nature of their office to decide public matters with reference to the general history and spirit of the nation. With *σκοπεῖν, ἐπί* often has this meaning ("with reference to," "by"). See §§ 233, 294. *ἀξιώματα*, in the plural, properly has the meaning here given it. K. § 243, 3, (3). The *βακτηρία* was a *staff* handed to each judge on entering the court in which he was to serve for the day, as a mark of judicial honor, and bore the number or emblem of the court. The *σύμβολον* was a ticket, by presenting which to the proper officer he received his fee. The tablet, on which the name of each judge was inscribed, and the number of the division to which he belonged for the year, was called *πινάκιον*, and consequently was quite distinct from the *σύμβολον*, though generally confounded with it. Comp. Herm. § 134, 17.

211. *Ἀλλὰ γὰρ*] "But (I must check myself) for." See Xen. Anab. III. 2, 32; also § 42, n. — *ἔστιν ἃ . . . πράχ-θέντων*] "there are some of the decrees and public doings on that occasion which I omitted." He here returns to the point from which he diverged at the beginning of § 196. He was there speaking of his measures to secure the alliance of Thebes, the account of which he here resumes.

212. *ὥς ἐτέρως*] "very otherwise," i. e. adversely. See § 128, n. — *συναίτιος*] "a contributory cause." Placed in opposition to *μόνος αἴτιος* below. *Πῶς . . . καταρατότερος*] "How could there be a more savage and execrable calumniator?"

213. *ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ*] The letter itself is wanting, which is the case, also, with all the letters, decrees, laws, etc., from this point. See Appendix. — *ἐδημηγόρου*] "they (i. e. the ambassadors of Philip and his allies) harangued the people." — *Τὸ δ' . . . Ἀττικῇ*] "In short, therefore, they demanded that they (i. e. the Thebans) should make a return for the favors which they had received from Philip, but that they should inflict punishment for the injuries which they had re-

ceived from you in which of two ways they prefer, either by letting them (the Macedonians) pass through (i. e. through Bœotia) against you, or by joining with them in an incursion into Attica." *Τὸ δ' οὖν κεφαλαῖον* is an adverbial acc., in apposition with the following sentence. K. § 279, R. 8. — *πεπόνθασαν*] Observe the omission of the augment in the pluperf. after a word ending in a vowel which cannot be elided. K. § 120, R. 2. — *εἰς . . . συντείνοντι*] "but all tending to the same things."

214. *τὰ μὲν . . . νομίσητε*] "these things, in all their particulars, I should esteem it a recompense for a whole life to state, but I fear you, lest, since the times have passed away, just as you would if you thought there had been a general obliteration of the things, you may consider the account of these things as a useless vexation." For the effect of the eloquence of Demosthenes on the Thebans at the time here referred to, see Plutarch's *Life of Demosthenes*. For the grammatical resolution of *ὥσπερ ἄν*, see § 194, n.

215. *ἐκάλουν*] "they called or invited," i. e. to march to Thebes and unite with them against Philip. Æschines, in his speech (p. 75), states that this assistance was sent out before Demosthenes had proposed any decree on the subject. This seems to be a malicious falsehood, added by him in publishing his oration, and never uttered before the court. — *οἰκείως*] "cordially," i. e. by the Thebans. How cordially they were received the orator goes on to state, by saying that they were received into the bosom of their families, while their own soldiers were encamped without the walls. — *τὰ τιμιώτατα*] "the things most precious." A sort of comprehensive summary, referring to nothing in particular, but designed to cover every thing of the kind which had just been mentioned, like our term "whatever is most sacred or dear." — *Καίτοι . . . σοφροσύνης*] "And, indeed, on that day the Thebans exhibited to all men three of the most honorable encomiums upon you; one for bravery, another for justice, the third for self-government, or continence." In the following

sentences the orator proceeds to show how they exhibited these encomiums. The first and second they exhibited, he says, in uniting themselves with them instead of Philip, and the third, by receiving them so unreservedly into the privacies of their families. — *ἀμείνους*] “braver.” It is thus distinguished from *κρείττων*, which means “more powerful.” See § 146; also *Æsch. Adv. Ctesiph.* § 11, and *Soph. Antig. v. 73.* — καὶ . . . δ’] “and also,” “and too.” *K.* § 322, R. 7. — ἐφ’ ὑμῖν] *ἐπί* means here “depending upon,” “in the power of,” = *penes*. See *Xen. Anab. III. 1, 17, 18, et passim.*

216. κατὰ γ’ ὑμᾶς] “at least as far as you were concerned.” For the position of γέ between a preposition and its noun, see *Jelf’s K.* § 735, Obs. 2. — οὐδείς . . . ἐνεκάλεσεν] “no one accused you, not even unjustly.” A genuine Demosthenian expression. — δὶς τε . . . χειμεριήν] “and twice having fought in conjunction with them the first battles, that at the river (probably the Boeotian Cephissus) and the battle of the storm.” Scarcely any thing is now known of these battles, though they were doubtless familiar to those whom the orator addressed. Thus much, however, is evident from this account, that they were preliminary skirmishes with Philip previous to the decisive battle of Chæronea. That *χειμεριήν* cannot mean “in the winter,” as some have translated it, is shown by Mr. Clinton in his *Fasti Hellenici*, Vol. II. pp. 352—354.

217. πῶς οὐ . . . θεούς] “how does he not perform outrageous, or rather impious acts, if, of what things he made the gods witnesses (i. e. by sacrifices, rejoicings, etc.), as being most desirable, these he now demands of you (the judges) who have sworn by the gods to condemn as not being the most desirable?” Observe the inextricable dilemma in which he puts his antagonist by this enthymem. See also § 169, and compare the other enthymems referred to in § 139, n.

218. Θεβαῖοι . . . ἑμοί] “but the Thebans, in thinking that they had been preserved by us, and it had happened to those

who, on account of what these men (such as Æschines) did, seemed to be on the point of needing assistance (i. e. the Athenians) for them to help others (the Thebans), from what you listened to me in," i. e. from his measures. — ἡ ἐμὴ συνέχεια, κ. τ. λ.] "my perseverance, etc." Demosthenes here refers to his long course of active opposition to Philip, in which he had not only proposed measures, but gone on embassies (πλάτοι), and toiled in almost every capacity. See § 237.

219. Καλλίστρατος, κ. τ. λ.] Callistratus, here referred to as renowned (ἐκείνος), was the orator who first incited Demosthenes to the study of eloquence, by his celebrated speech concerning Oropus. The others are often referred to by Demosthenes as famous orators of his times. See §§ 162, 251. Observe the omission of the connective before ἔτεροι. K. § 325, 1, (ε). — οὐκ ἂν ἐπρέσβευσεν] "would not have gone on an embassy," or "was not accustomed to go on embassies." K. § 260, 2, (2), (β). — Ὑπέλειπε . . . ἀναφοράν] "For each of them reserved to himself, not only leisure, but also, if anything (adverse) happened, the liberty of excusing himself." ἀναφορά seems to be used here as ἀναφέρειν often is. See ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐπ' ἐκείνους, § 224. This use of ἄμα μέν . . . ἄμα δέ is not uncommon in representing two things as belonging to the predicate equally at the same time. See § 219; also Xen. Anab. III. 4, 19.

220. ὥστ' οὐκ . . . πράξειεν] "so that it did not seem to me to allow any opportunity for, or even thought of, one's own safety, but that one should be contented, if, having neglected no duty, he should do whatever the crisis demanded." The substitution of ὥραν for χώραν, made by Dissen, seems uncalled for, and on all grounds, undesirable.

221. τυχόν] "perhaps." This meaning grows out of the use of the part. in the acc. absolute. K. § 312, 5.

222. ἀποπεφυγότα] "having escaped without censure," or "having acquitted." The same legal terms are often applied by Demosthenes to things as to persons. See F. L., p. 899, init., where this word is used of a person.

223. *πρότερον*] “formerly.” For the occasion on which the decree of Aristonicus was proposed, see § 80, seqq. — *οὔτε . . . συγκατηγορήσαν*] “nor did he abet him who did prosecute them. — *Καίτοι . . . ἔτιερα*] “And yet at that time he might have prosecuted Demomeles and Hyperides, who proposed these things, if, indeed, he now brings true charges against me, with much more reason than he does this man (Ctesiphon). Why? Because it is possible for him (Ctesiphon) to appeal to them (Demomeles and Hyperides), and to the decisions of the courts (i. e. which in this and similar cases had been made in favor of Demosthenes), and to the fact that he himself (Æschines) has not accused them (Demomeles and Hyperides), who proposed the same things which this man (Ctesiphon) now has, and the fact, also, that the laws no longer permit (i. e. after a case of the same kind had been decided in his favor) to accuse on account of things thus publicly done (or “carried through,” “settled”), and many other things.” That is to say, as he had already been tried, in a case of precisely the same kind, and received a verdict in his favor, the present trial was like putting him twice in jeopardy for the same thing, and hence was not allowed by the laws.

224. *τότε δ' . . . προλαβεῖν*] “but at that time the cause would have been decided by itself, before it had gained any of these advantages.” For *προλαβεῖν* in this sense, see § 314.

225. *οἶμαι*] Ironical, like our “I trow.” Demosthenes, of course, had no doubt on the subject. It is often thus used. See § 46. — *μήτ' ἂν . . . ῥηθῆναι*] “nor would have expected to hear spoken of at this day. — *τι λέγειν*] “to say something to the purpose.” This use of *τι* is analogous to that of *τις* for *μέγας*, — the idea being that of “something weighty,” “important,” or “pertinent to the subject.”

226. *οἱ λόγοι*] “the arguments,” “proofs.” — *παρ'*] “at the same time with.” See § 13, n.

227. *ὅταν . . . λογίζεσθε*] “when thinking that there remains a balance of money (in your favor), you have a

reckoning with some one." — καθαραὶ . . . ψῆφοι] "clear accounts," i. e. balanced. Accounts were cast by the use of pebbles, which, to express debt and credit, were placed opposite each other on corresponding lines, a given value being always indicated by a given situation. In balancing accounts, pebbles were removed from one side for debits and from the other for credits, and if, in this way, both sides became *cleared* at the same time, the account was balanced. This sufficiently explains the expression under consideration, and also the phrase τιθεὶς ψήφους, § 229. — συγχωρεῖτε] "you yield," i. e. change your mind on this point. — σαθρόν] "rotten."

228. ὑπαρχούσης ὑπολήψεως] "the existing opinion."

229. οὐ τιθεὶς . . . λογισμός] "not casting accounts (for this is not the way of estimating public measures)." See § 227, n.

230. ἀντὶ δὲ . . . πόλεμον] "instead of pirates from Eubœa plundering us, that Attica on the side of the sea was in peace during the whole war." φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν, like *agere et fere*, mean together "to plunder," referring originally to the different kinds of property that were the objects of plunder.

231. Ἡ δεῖν . . . κεκόμισθε] "Or that it is necessary to cancel these deeds (i. e. by what Æschines had done), and not rather to take care that they shall be preserved in memory through all times? And I do not now add, that the cruelty which may be witnessed where (ἐν οἷς) Philip became thoroughly master of any, it happened to others to experience, but that, of the kindness which he feigned, aiming at (περιβαλλόμενος) the remaining interests (i. e. the acquisition of the states yet unsubdued), you, by the blessing of God have enjoyed the fruit." That is to say, by holding out against Philip, in accordance with the advice of Demosthenes, they had enjoyed the advantage continually of this insinuating policy,—which was continued, indeed, even after the battle of Chæronea. For this use of καλῶς ποιοῦντες, see Viger's Idioms, p. 779; also Dem. Pop. Orat. I. 28, note.

232. παραδείγματα] "illustrations," "comparisons." Such

as that above cited, concerning the accounts. — *πάνυ γὰρ . . . Ἑλλήνων*] “for the interests of Greece (don’t you see?) depend much upon this.” The question gives point to the irony. Demosthenes here alludes to the ridicule which Æschines (pp. 46, 77, 83, of his speech) had bestowed upon his style and manner of speaking. This, doubtless, might easily be done, since a person of such vivid ideas and intense feeling would be likely, at times, to commit some improprieties in language and gesture.

233. *ἐπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων*] “with reference to the actual realities.” *ἔργων* evidently stands opposed to *ῥήμα* and *χεῖρα* above. For this use of *ἐπί*, see § 210, n.

234. *Κέρκυρα*] “Corcyra.” A large island off the coast of Epirus. This, with the other important islands here named, were formerly in a kind of dependent alliance with Athens, but had revolted from her in the Social War, which occurred shortly before the contest with Philip. See § 17, n. — *ἦν προεξιλεγμένα*] “had been collected in advance.” Of course, then, he had no more to expect for the year, nor any means of making the annual assessment larger, in order to meet the emergency. — *οἰκείων*] “domestic or city forces.” Called (§ 237) *πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων*. — *οὗτοι*] “these,” i. e. Æschines and his associates. — *ἐχθρας . . . ἐγγυτέρω*] “nearer enmity than friendship.”

235. *παρὰ*] “excepting,” “contrary to,” “besides.” A common meaning with an accusative. See Orat De Chers. § 76. — *ἦρχε . . . ὧν*] “he led those following him, being himself absolute.” That is to say, he was not simply a general, subject to the direction of some government which had commissioned him, nor even a prime minister, responsible to his people, but an absolute king at the head of his subjects. This of course gave him a great advantage in war, as it enabled him at all times to act with promptness and decision, without being embarrassed by the slow process of gaining the popular consent to every measure before he could enter upon it. See a parallel passage, Dem. F. L., p. 399. — *εἴθ’ . . .*

ἀεὶ] “then these (his soldiers) always had arms in their hands,” i. e. were always engaged in war, and, consequently, experienced soldiers.

236. *Αὐτό γὰρ . . . βεβουλευμένοι*] “For this very right of addressing the people, in the first place, which alone I shared in (i. e. which was his only power), you extended equally to his hirelings (i. e. Philip’s) and to me, and in what things these (hirelings) had the advantage of me (and these were many from the specious pretexts with which different measures were put forward), these having decided upon in favor of the enemies, you broke up the assembly.” And thus they prevented him from getting his plans approved. The phrase *δι’ ἧν ἕκαστον τύχοι πρόφασιν* means literally, “through the pretexts which each thing might find,” i. e. through various specious pretexts.

237. *ὅσων*] By attraction instead of *ὅσα*. This is used, and not the simple relative, because it refers to *quantity* (“the greatest, as,” instead of, “as great, as.”)

238. *Εἰ δὲ λέγεις, κ. τ. λ.*] “But if, Æschines, you speak of our rights towards the Thebans, or towards the Byzantians, or towards the Eubœans, or contend for equality now,” i. e. an equal distribution of the expenses of the war among the allies, on the occasion referred to. *νυνὶ*, therefore, stands opposed to *πρότερον* in the same line. The orator, having just spoken of the allies which he had gained for Athens in the struggle with Philip, takes occasion here to allude to an objection which Æschines had made in his speech (§ 137, seq.) to the conditions upon which some of these allies had been received, as they were required to bear but a small portion of the expenses. This policy he justifies, first, by an appeal to the example of their forefathers at the battle of Salamis in the war with Persia, and then by stating that upon no other condition could they have been kept from joining themselves to Philip, and thus augmenting his strength. — *ἐκείνων*] For the position of this word between the article and its noun, see § 71. — *τῶν ἄλλων*] Governed by *διπλάσια*, which implies a comparison. K. 275, 2.

239. *Εἴτα . . . ἐμὲ*] "Then surely you show worthless favors to these (the Athenians) in accusing me." That is to say, his advice came too late to be worth anything, — it was but a cheap wisdom, which did not come till after the event, — *ἐνεδέχετο*] "was possible or practicable." — *ὁ γὰρ . . . ἔτοιμος*] "for he who was bidding against us (i. e. Philip) was ready both to receive them at once, if driven from us, and to give them money besides." Of course, then, there was no opportunity for chaffering with them, in order to see how large a proportion of the expenses they would bear; they were to be received on their own conditions, if at all.

240. *τί ἄν*] *ἄν* here is prospective, and hence is repeated below. K. § 261, 3. — *ἐμοῦ . . . ἀκριβολογουμένου*] "I chaffering about these things."

241. *διὰ Βυζαντίων*] "by means of the Byzantians," i. e. through their influence and coöperation. The orator is still describing what his enemies would have said, if the allies in question had gone over to the interest of Philip on account of too hard conditions being required of them; and in doing this he makes them state what he conceived would have been the consequences of such an event. He has passed, however, from the oblique to the direct form of discourse; since he personates, as it were, the accuser, and utters his sentiments. K. § 345, R. 5.

242. *τοῦτο δὲ . . . πατρίδι*] "but this apology for a man is a fox even by nature, never from the first having done any thing wholesome or noble, a very tragic ape, a rustic CEnomaus, a counterfeit orator. For in what does thy eloquence come to the aid of thy country?" *τάνθρωπιον* (= *τὸ ἄνθρωπιον*) is a diminutive from *ὁ ἄνθρωπος*, and seems to refer to the size of Æschines. *αὐτός*, in *αὐτοτραγικός*, retains something of its exclusive meaning, = "himself, if there ever was one." *ἐλεύθερον* here = *ἐλευθέριον*, as it frequently is. The language in this passage is very harsh, and shows something of the Scythian blood, with which the orator was often reproached by his enemies. But it should be recollect-

Democracies like those of Greece are specially liable to these faults. πολιτικά = οἰκεῖα, as in §§ 234 and 237. — τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ] "as far as I am concerned." The article gives a substantive meaning to the preposition with its case. See § 247, fin.

247. τίσι] "by what means." — τοὺς . . . πραγμάτων] "those intrusted with the conduct of affairs." — Καὶ μὴν . . . πρίηται] "Besides, by not allowing myself to be bribed by money, I have conquered Philip; for as the bidder has conquered the one who receives the price, if he purchase him." For καὶ μὴν, see § 14, n. The whole of this paragraph is an extremely ingenious exculpation of himself from all blame in the defeat which his country had suffered; but especially this closing sentence, in which he claims even to have conquered Philip.

248. Ἄ μὲν . . . ἐμοῦ] "What, therefore, I contributed towards its being just for this man (Ctesiphon) to propose such things concerning me." ἐγὼ is opposed to ὑμεῖς below, which, of course, is nominative to παρόσχεςθε understood. Having stated what he had done to render such a decree as that of Ctesiphon proper, the orator proceeds in this paragraph to state what the people generally, and the judges in particular, had done to warrant it. — ἐμβεβηκώς] "having entered into," or "being in the midst." This participle agrees with δῆμος above. — ἥνικ' . . . πρὸς ἐμέ] "when it were nothing remarkable for the multitude to have treated me harshly." ἄν is often omitted thus with the indicative of the historical tenses in conditioned clauses, especially in expressions denoting *duty*, *probability*, *possibility*. K. § 260, R. 8. The difference between the forms with and without ἄν seems to be something like that between *were* and *would have been*, as used for each other, to some extent, in English. — αἱ τάφροι] "the trenches," i. e. around the city. — σιτώνην] "commissioner to supply the scarcity of corn." The appointment of such commissioners, according to Hermann (§ 150,

11), was resorted to only on extraordinary occasions, there being regularly fifteen magistrates called Sitophylaces to regulate the corn trade.

249. *συστάντων*] “having conspired.” Demosthenes here alludes to the attempts made by his enemies, soon after the battle of Chæronea, to procure his condemnation. For this purpose, as he goes on to state, they brought against him, not personally, but by instigating to it such persons as they would be least suspected of having in their service, every species of trial. — *τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην*] “every single day.” The article adds definiteness and emphasis. K. § 246, 6. — *ἀπόνοια*] “recklessness,” “desperateness.” This quality of the individual here mentioned, as is the case, also, with the qualities attributed to other individuals whose names follow, fitted him for the service in which he was employed; hence it is that these qualities are singled out. This passage is thus imitated by Cicero (Cat. III. 7):—“Quem quidem ego quum ex urbe pellebam, hoc providebam animo, Quirites, remoto Catilinâ, nec mihi P. Lentuli somnum, nec L. Cassii adipem, nec Cethegi furiosam temeritatem pertimescendam.” — *τούτοις*] Dative of the agent after *ἀπείρατον*, the verbal being equivalent to the perf. pass. part. K. § 284, 1, (i). — *τοῦτο γὰρ . . . δικαστῶν*] “for this (i. e. his acquittal) is both confirmed by facts (*ἀληθείς*), and is for the credit of (*ὑπὲρ*) judges under oath, and deciding what is in accordance with their oaths.” For this meaning of *ἀληθείς*, see *ἀλήθειαν* below, § 250.

250. *τὰς εὐθύνας ἐπεσημαίνεσθε*] “you approved my accounts,” i. e. by signing or sealing them, after having examined them. See Boeckh’s Pub. Econ. Ath. p. 193. — *τί προσήκεν . . . ὄνομα*] “what name was it proper or just that Ctesiphon should give to the things done by me?” That is to say, What ought he, under these circumstances, to have denominated them, whether good or bad? Alluding to the language of the decree, where he had affirmed that Demosthenes had always said and done what was for the good of the people. — *τὴν ἀλήθειαν . . . βεβαιῶσαν*] “the truth confirm-

ing or rendering conclusive all things." Referring to the results of these trials, and the examinations of his accounts, which had shown him to be innocent.

251. ἀλλὰ φυχῶν] "but the example of Cephala is honorable, never to have been indicted." The person here alluded to was an Athenian orator of great distinction, who flourished during the Peloponnesian war, and who, though for a long time engaged in public affairs, was never indicted. Demosthenes, having spoken of the approbation which had been bestowed upon his conduct by his having been often acquitted in previous trials relating to these matters, alludes to this example of Cephala (cited by Æschines in his speech, p. 81, as presenting a very strong contrast to that of his rival), in order to show that the contrast in this respect argued nothing against him, and indeed, that, as far as Æschines was concerned, no such contrast existed between him and Cephala, since, whatever others might have done, he had never indicted him. — ἐν δικαίως] "should on this account justly come under censure?" — οὐδεμίαν γραφήν] For a personal acc. in addition to a cognate acc. see K. § 208, 1.

252. ὀγρωμοσύνην βασκανίαν] "his unfairness and slanderousness." Demosthenes here alludes to the malicious remark of his adversary, that an evil fortune had always attended him, and that nothing could prosper with which he had anything to do. See §§ 114, 135, 158, 253, of his speech. — ἦν γὰρ ἐτέρον] "for how is it proper to speak of or reproach another for this, which he who is persuaded that he enjoys best, and possesses in the highest degree, does not know whether it will remain such till evening?" For the meaning here given to βέλτιστα πράττειν, see ἄμεινον πράττειν, § 254. Observe, also, the difference between τομίζων and οἰόμενος, the former expressing a much higher degree of confidence than the latter. — ἀνθρωποειώτερον] "more humanely," "more kindly."

253. Δωδωναῖον] "Dodonian." An epithet of Jupiter derived from Dodona, a city of Epirus, where was a celebra-

ted oracle dedicated to him. As this was an oracle of great authority, it was much resorted to both by individuals and states, in order to learn their destiny. It would seem, from this passage, that it had pronounced favorably upon the destiny of Athens. I have removed the brackets from καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον, since the reading seems to be sustained by other passages in Demosthenes. See Epist. IV. p. 1487. — ἡ νῦν ἐπέχει] “which now possesses them,” or “prevails.” Referring to the victories of Alexander.

254. Τὸ μὲν . . . τὴν πόλιν] “Therefore, the choosing the most honorable course, and the coming off better than those very Greeks who thought that they should live in prosperity if they deserted us, I ascribe to the good fortune of the city; but in the want of success (*hit*. the collision *or* bringing up against something), and all things not happening to us as we desired, I think that the city has received the part of the fortune of others falling to us.” ἐπιβάλλον is a participle, and means here “falling upon,” or “happening to.”

255. ἀξιώ] “I think,” or “judge.” — ἀγαθῆς καὶ μεγάλης] These adjectives agree with τύχης understood, which, in turn, is governed by κυριωτέρα understood.

256. πρὸς] “in comparison with.” A meaning similar to that of ἐπὶ with σκοπεῖν. See § 210, n. — ψυχρότητα] “cold-heartedness,” “unfeelingness,” i. e. in raking up things against Æschines for which he was not personally guilty, but belonged to his fortune. Referring obviously to the same state of feeling implied in χαλεποῦ below. His apology, then, is, that the severity of Æschines upon him made it necessary for him to defend himself with the same weapons — ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων] “considering the existing materials.”

257. αἰσχρὸν] “disgraceful *or* servile.” Such as he represents Æschines as having been obliged to resort to for a support, on account of his poverty. — ἀκόλουθα τούτοις] “things in keeping with these,” i. e. with what he had just represented himself as having done while a boy. What some of them were the orator proceeds to state, viz. “to defray the expense

of choruses employed at the public festivals and theatrical exhibitions, to be at the charge of fitting out galleys for the public service, and the contributing of money to the state." These were duties which fell by law upon the more wealthy, or were undertaken voluntarily by the more patriotic citizens, and hence were of a highly honorable nature. — καλὰ γ'] "honorable at least." This character, he says, not even his enemies had ever denied to his measures, though they had not been successful.

258. καὶ πᾶλλ' . . . παραλείπω] "and, although I might speak many other things concerning it, I omit them." αἷ here gives to the participle ἔχων the sense of the optative, according to a familiar principle of Greek grammar, while at the same time, by another principle, the participle conveys the restrictive idea, "although." Compare § 50, n. — σμυρὸς] "dignified," "illustrious." To be taken ironically. — ἄμα . . . προσδρεύων] "attending with your father at the school," i. e. as a drudge, his father having been spoken of in a previous passage (§ 129) as a slave of the schoolmaster Elpias. That this was the capacity in which he was employed is evident, also, from the description which follows of the services which he performed, such as mixing ink, cleaning the benches, and sweeping the school-room.

259, 260. ἀνῆρ δὲ . . . νεήλατα] "but having become a man, you read for your mother, engaged in the rites of initiation, the books (containing the forms of initiation), and assisted her in performing the other rites; by night prowling around in fawn-skins, and gulping down goblets of wine, and purifying the novitiates, and rubbing them down with clay and bran, and, having caused them to rise up from the cleansing, directing them to say, 'I escaped the bad, I found the better;' priding yourself on no one's being able to shout so loud, and I certainly agree with you (for you cannot think that he speaks so magniloquently without being a magnificent shouter); but by day leading through the streets those fine troops of Bacchanals crowned with fennel and white poplar, squeezing

the copper-colored snakes and crying Evoë Saboë, Hyes! being saluted by the bearer, basket-carrier, and compensation for these sea cakes." I have thought because it contains an unusual number of meanings of which are not alluded to appear to have Phrygian and Bacchic rites and vulgar. The mother employed to superintend the novitiates, in which her son assisted of the ceremonies here described mark upon only a few. The novitiates in fawn-skins had all which Bacchus was represented by the formula translated "I escape" which every child at the age, was made to pronounce in terms symbolical of the transformation which had taken place at the ancient times, when the acorns. This formula applied to novitiates on their initiation into the worship of Bacchus, as implied by the restoration to the favor of the gods, some to be derived from the fulness of the cheeks of the word in Liddell and name of a Phrygian deity of character and worship of him also by his worship applied to Bacchus, and finally belonged to the Phrygian.

an epithet which he derived from his mother Semele, who was sometimes called *Ἦη*. These were all forms of enthusiastic invocation to Bacchus, employed by his devotees in the frenzied excitement of their worship. In these rites Æschines is represented as having acted as leader and guide to the novitiates, bearing the basket and the box, in which were contained the image of Bacchus and other sacred symbols, and as surpassing them all in the holy shout. The articles of food, which he is said to have received as a recompense for these services, are to be regarded as choice bits presented him by the devout old women by whom he was surrounded. In conclusion, I refer the reader to Horace, B. 2, Ode 19, as throwing some light upon the phraseology employed in some parts of this passage.

261. *ὅπωςδῆποτε*] "in whatever way you please," or "in some way or other." This adverb is thrown in to suggest a doubt as to the legitimacy of his citizenship. See a similar use of the word, Olyn. III, § 7. — *ἀρχιδίους*] "inferior magistrates." A diminutive from *ἀρχή*. — *πάνθ'*] "all," i. e. the disgraceful things. The orator here intimates that his adversary, in accusing others of crimes and scandalous things, drew from his own experience.

262. *οὐδὲν τῶν προῦπηργμένων*] "nothing of those things commenced in early life." The idea here intended to be conveyed is, that Æschines fully sustained in after life the bad reputation which he acquired while young. *προῦπηργμένων* is the perf. pass. part. of *προῦπάρχω*. — *τοῖς . . . ἐπικαλουμένοις*] "called groaners." So called, probably, on account of their unnatural and extravagant exhibition of pathos in their representations on the stage. — *ὄπωρώνης*] "fruit-dealer." According to some, this is to be taken as the name of a man notorious for stealing fruit, whose example Æschines was represented as imitating. In most editions, also, *πλείω*, in the next line, is made to agree with *τραύματα*, which, in these editions, stands expressed in the sentence. But this Becker included in brackets, as of doubtful authority, and

Dindorf, in his text, rejected entirely. As it stands here, *πλείω* must be understood as meaning "more profit," but in the other case, "more wounds," i. e. more from the owners of the fruit than from their audience, on account of the wretchedness of their acting. — *δειλούς*] "cowards." Alluding to the charge of cowardice which Æschines had made against him.

263. *ἀντὰ . . . κατηγορήματα*] "I will proceed to the very (*ἀντὰ*) accusations of thy character or nature." That is to say, such accusations as referred to him personally, and not, like the preceding, to his circumstances. — *λαγὼ βίον*] "the life of a hare," i. e. a timid, fearful life, continually expecting, while his country was triumphant over him and his party, the punishment which he was conscious of deserving.

264. *οὐ γὰρ . . . λέγω*] "for I do not think it necessary to speak indiscriminately, all the disgraceful and reproachful things which I might show to pertain to this fellow."

265. *βεβιωμένα*] "the course of life pursued." — *Ἐδίδασκες . . . ἐσύμμετον*] "You taught school, I attended; you performed the rites of initiation, I was one of the initiated; you served in the chorus, I defrayed the expense; you acted as a scribe to the assembly, I harangued it; you served as a third-rate actor, I was one of the audience; you were driven from the stage, I hissed you." This contrast between their respective courses of life is very ingeniously conducted. It is a summary of all that had previously been said of the difference between their fortunes, and is so managed as to represent Æschines as the servant and drudge, and himself as a gentleman of liberal and generous pursuits, sometimes enjoying and sometimes rewarding the drudgery of his rival, and in all cases his superior. For this meaning of *ἐκπίπτειν*, see § 186, fin.

266. *σοὶ . . . κινδυνεύεις δὲ*] "but to you it is to seem to be a sycophant, and you have at stake." The contrast, it will be observed, is still kept up here.

267. *ἀναγνώ*] "let me read." It is not to be understood,

however, that he read the records in question himself, but caused them to be read, as he says below, addressing the clerk, *Λέγε τὰς μαρτυρίας*. — *ῥήσεις ἅς ἐλυμήνω*] “the lines which you murdered.” Alluding to his bad pronunciation of these lines in speaking them on the stage. The first of the lines is from the *Hecuba* of Euripides (v. 1), and the other from an unknown source. There is, however, a couplet in *Soph. Antig.* (vv. 276, 277) very similar in sentiment. — *καὶ κακὸν, κ. τ. λ.*] “and thee, evil man, may the gods above all, and then all these judges, evilly destroy.”

268. *οὐδὲν ἂν εἶποιμι*] “I would say nothing.” The apodosis of the following clause, which is introduced by *εἰ*. K. § 389, 1. — *τινας*] i. e. prisoners of war. See F. L., p. 394. — *συνεξέδωκα*] “helped dower,” i. e. assisted those in humble circumstances in furnishing their daughters with the requisite dower for a respectable marriage. Which was often done at Athens. See *Lys. Pro. Bon. Aristoph.* p. 659.

269. *οὕτω*] refers to what follows, as in § 138. — *εὖ παθόντα*] “having received favors.” Opposed to *ποιήσαντα*, “having done favors,” below. — *μικροῦ . . . ὀνειδίζειν*] “is virtually to disparage them.” The sentiments expressed in this passage are exceedingly elevated and refined,—every way worthy of a disciple of Plato. For the government of *μικροῦ*, see § 151.

270. *ἀθῶος*] “uninjured by.” Demosthenes, almost single-handed, had resisted Philip from the beginning, and might, therefore, if any had escaped falling into his power, justly claim to have been the cause of it.

271. *φορὰν . . . ἔδει*] “a certain irresistible rush or course of events, and such as was out of the ordinary course of nature” (*lit.* was not necessary or proper). An Attic euphemism, intimating something very disastrous. See § 133, n.

272. *παρὰ τούτοις*] “in conjunction with these” (the Athenian people). This is said to show that the people had coöperated with him, and that therefore, as he goes on to say, any blame thrown upon him was at the same time thrown also

upon them. — ἦν ἄν] “it would have been proper,” or “there would have been an opportunity.”

273. ἐν κοινῷ . . . σκοπεῖν] “and the city offered in public (i. e. to all) the liberty of considering what was for the best.” That is to say, as the orator has remarked once before, all others, equally with himself, had the right of proposing and discussing public measures. — οὐ γὰρ . . . τιμῶν] “for you did not out of good will surely relinquish to me hopes (i. e. of praise and reward), and admiration, and honors.” The genitives are governed by παρεχώρεις, which implies separation. K. § 271, 2.

274. Παρὰ μὲν . . . τοιαῦτα] “Among all other men; therefore, I see some such *principles as these* laid down and established.” What these are, the orator proceeds to tell in an indirect way, by first stating cases of conduct, and then stating how they were usually treated. See the same figure, § 117. — ὁργὴν . . . τιμωρίαν . . . συγγνώμην] Governed in the same way as τὰ τοιαῦτα, with which they are in apposition. The three degrees of delinquency described in these and the following cases correspond to what is indicated in our language by “wrongs,” “errors,” and “misfortunes.” See § 72. — οὐ . . . ἀπάντων] “failed of success in common with all.” — συνάχθεσθαι] “to grieve with,” “sympathize with.”

276. αὐτὸς] “he himself,” i. e. Æschines. — ἐκέλευεν] “charged you.” — ὅπως μὴ] The fut. indic. after these particles definitely implies the possibility of the result referred to. K. § 330, 6. — δεινὸν . . . σοφιστήν] “vehement, as well as a juggler and a sophist.” See Æsch. pp. 56, 83. — καὶ δὲ . . . ἔχοντα] “now that not only these things are thus,” i. e. applicable to another, rather than to himself. ἔχοντα is in the acc. plur. absolute, depending upon ὥς (“as if”) in the previous line. K. § 312, 6, (c).

277. δεινότητα] “vehement eloquence.” This sentence, it will be perceived, is incomplete, the orator having stopped in the midst of it, at the mention of the word here quoted, as if about to retract it, since the use of it acknowledged the

charge of his adversary in calling him *δεινός*, — or, perhaps, from modesty, on account of the pretending character of the word. Instead of retracting it, however, after some suspense, he adds, “Yes, be it so,” which is equivalent to saying, “It is the right word, I will not retract it.” We can judge pretty well how he would have completed the sentence, by what he says below, at *Εἰ δ’ οὖν*, where he resumes the point. — *ἀκούεις*] Hearers (especially judges) may be considered as the controllers of the power of speakers, since, as our author goes on to say, speakers are wholly dependent upon their approbation for their own reputation. This view of the subject must have been far more agreeable to them than that of Æschines, who, by warning them to be on their guard against the effects of the eloquence of Demosthenes, plainly implied that they were under the control of the orators. — *ἐξεταζομένην*] “tried,” “proved.” — *ἀλλὰ . . . τοῦτων*] “but also, if any one offended or came into collision with him in anything, against these.” *εἰς*, being an indefinite pronoun, and hence having a sort of general or collective sense, takes the demonstrative *τοῦτων*, referring to it, in the plural, by the construction *κατὰ οὐρανόν*. K. § 241, 1.

278. *τοὺς ὑπὲρ . . . βεβαιῶν*] “to ask of the judges convened for causes of a public nature to confirm to him,” i. e. to gratify him in. — *διακείμεν*] “disposed.” This participle, with the adverbs standing in connection with it, may be rendered “meekly and gently disposed,” i. e. well subdued and held in check. — *Ἐν τίσιν*] “On what occasions.” — *τῶν ὅλων τι*] “any of the matters of the highest interest.”

279. *Μηδενὸς . . . αὐτοῦ*] “But for him, having demanded punishment from me neither in behalf of the state nor of himself, there having been no public crime whatever of mine, and, I will add, no private crime either,” i. e. committed against Æschines. — *Τὸ δὲ . . . κακίαν*] “But, indeed, that he, having neglected to bring the trials against me myself, should now come against this one (Ctesiphon), involves the sum of all baseness.” *ἐπὶ αὐτόν* is more emphatic than *ἐμαυτόν*. K. § 302, R. 6.

NOTE

280. φωνασκίας] Æschines, i very powerful voice, which is often. See §§ 260, 291, 318. De had by nature a bad voice. By tained great power over it, and variety, modulation, and piercing Plutarch's Life; also, Æsch. F. I p. 83.

281. οὐκ ἐπὶ . . . πολλοῖς] "i anchor with the multitude," i. hopes, the anchor, in all language blem of hope. This was a comm of which critics cite many instan writers. It should be further st ἀγκύρας understood — Ἐγώ] "I — καὶ . . . πεποιήμαι] "and h connected (with the interest of nature."

282. Ἄρ' οὐν . . . πῶς] "Bu thing aside from the public inter that you did not)? — τὴν μάχη ronea. — καὶ ταῦτ'] "and that, t . . . τοιοῦτον] "And whom does upon? Is it not on such an one the crier or herald, who opened t by first praying, and then invit say to speak. In his prayers, h characters as Æschines is here Smith's Dic. Antiq. Art. Ἐκκλ the indic. after these particles, s "this one," i. e. such as he had]

283. ὥστ' οὐ] For the negati n. — καταρώμενος "protesting."

284. κατὰ σκευτὴν μνηστῆς] " i. e. by confessing his treachery, with having done, after the dex

ὧν . . . ἐνρήσεις] “for which you will find all to blame sooner than *me*.”

285. Σημεῖον δέ] “But here is the proof of it,” i. e. that the city did not forget his good deeds. — ἄρτι . . . εἰρήνην] “recently having made the peace.” Demades, who is here alluded to, was an Athenian orator of great wit and eloquence, but of loose principles, who, being taken prisoner by Philip at Chæronea, ingratiated himself with his captor, so as to be employed by him to conclude the peace with Athens which ensued. — ἔτ’ ἀμεινον] “all the more zealously.” See K. § 239, R. 1, (a).

286. ταῦτ’] “these things,” i. e. their connection with Philip, etc., which, as stated above, Æschines had denied before the issue of the struggle, but acknowledged afterwards; and the others, it seems, had done likewise. — ὧν . . . ἄδεια] “receiving freedom from fear on account of what they thought.” Such could not have been friends to their country; since, had they been, they would not have concealed their thoughts till the success of the enemy made it safe for them to reveal them.

287. ἐκεῖ] “there,” i. e. with the enemy. δεῦρο, “hither,” a few lines below, stands opposed to it. — δ’ . . . ἀλλὰ] The one limits and the other excludes. K. 322, 2, 6 — ὑποκρινόμενον] “acting a part,” “feigning.”

288. οὕτως] “thus.” This word stands opposed to ἄλλως πως, a few lines below. The people at large, he says, did not act in one way towards him in this matter, and the friends of the slain in another. — δέον] “it being proper,” i. e. according to established customs. An acc. absolute. See § 30, n. It was customary among the Greeks to have funeral feasts. — οἰκειωτάτῳ] “the nearest relative.” ὥς, just before this word, is to be referred to it as strengthening the superlative. For its separation from the word to which it refers, see Matt. § 461. — μάλιστα δέφερον] “it most concerned.” This is used as an impersonal verb here, and governs φ in the line before. — ἂν ἦ . . . ὄφελον] “what would that they had never

suffered." A wish that cannot be realized. K. § 259, R. 6.

289. ἐπίγραμμα] "inscription." A short piece of poetry written as an epitaph upon the tombs or other monuments erected in honor of the dead. — *Μαγνήμενοι . . . ψυχάς*] "But, contending, they did not save their lives by bravery and courage." The genitives ἀρετῆς and δαίματος depend, perhaps, upon βράβην, there being a sort of zeugma between the two sentences, — *But, contending, they did not count upon the preservation of their lives as the reward of their bravery and courage, but a common death.* But it is most probable that the reading is corrupt here. — *χρίσις*] "issue," i. e. death. — *μοῖραν . . . ἔπαρεν*] "but he (Jupiter) did not afford them any escape from fate," i. e. those who fell in this battle.

290. αὐτῷ τούτῳ] "this very inscription."

291. μνησθεῖς] "having mentioned or spoken of." — *οὐχ ὥς . . . γνώμην*] "had not the state of mind which a patriotic and just citizen would have had."

292. πολιτείας . . . φροντίζειν] "pretending that he is concerned for the constitution." Æschines had made great pretensions to this in his speech. — *καὶ μὴ . . . τετάχθαι*] "and not by his line of policy to be ranked among our enemies." *κοινῶν* properly means "public measures." — *εἰς πρᾶγματα*] "into difficulties," "troubles." See § 246, n.

293. δι' ἐμὲ . . . πραττομένη] "that, through my influence, you have resisted the power that was forming against the Greeks," i. e. the power of Philip. This, he says, would be doing too great honor to himself, while at the same time it would be doing still greater injustice to the people by implying that they had been led into this policy contrary to their usual course. — *εὐοδ' ὅτι*] ὅτι belongs to a predicate to be supplied from *συνχωρήσατε*. Jelf's K. § 895, 1.

294. εἰ γ' . . . ἐμοί] "if, indeed, having laid aside misrepresentation and speaking from enmity, we should consider in face of the truth, who they undoubtedly are upon whose heads all would with reason and justly place the blame of all

that has happened, any one would find *them to be* such men as this fellow, in each of the cities, not such as I am."

295. *ἐπάρχοντας*] "existing," or "their own." The list of traitors which follows may be regarded as a kind of Black Roll, posted up for immortality.

296. *αἰσχίστοις*] "the basest indulgences."

297. *Ταύτης . . . ἐλευθερίας*] "Of this so shameful and infamous conspiracy and baseness, or rather, O men of Athens, not to speak unmeaningly, betrayal of the liberty of the Greeks."

298. *καιρὸς*] "opportunity." — *οὐδ' ὅσα . . . συμβεβούλευκα*] "nor what, at any time, I have advised these (the Athenians) have I advised like you (traitors), inclining towards gain as if in a scale," i. e. from selfish, mercenary motives. — *καὶ μεγίστων . . . προστάς*] "and, as is well known (*δὴ*), having directed the most important interests of all the men of my time." *κατὰ* here is used as it is in the phrase *οἱ καθ' ἑαυτούς*, "those with themselves," or "their contemporaries." K. § 292, (2).

299. *Τὸν δὲ τευχισμόν*] "But this repairing of the fortifications." Alluding to his services as superintendent of the repairs made upon the fortifications after the battle of Chæronea. A few lines below, the orator, playing upon the word, employs it in a figurative sense, including all that he did for the defence of Athens. — *πρόρῳ . . . τίθεμαι*] "but I place them far below my political measures." *τῶν πεπολιτευμένων* is governed by *πρόρῳ*. K. § 271, 3. — *ἀμνηστούμενους*] Some prefer *ἀμνηστούμενους* here, — the pres. instead of the fut.

300. *ἀλλ' οἱ . . . τύχη*] "but the generals of the allied forces, and the forces themselves, *were conquered* by fortune.

301. *ἐκ δὲ . . . ταύτη*] "but on the side of the places towards the Peloponnesus (to throw before the city), those dwelling near to it?" The orator, it will be perceived, speaks of the allies which he had gained as so many ramparts thrown up in different directions around the city. — *παρὰ . . . φιλίαν*] "along by a country friendly in its whole extent." This

region included the nations on the Hellespont, the Eubœans, etc., as corn was brought by the Greeks from the Euxine Sea. See § 73, n. For *φιλίαν*, without a noun, see K. § 263, a, (β).

302. *Καὶ τὰ μὲν . . . ὑπαρχόντων*] “And, on the one hand, to preserve of our existing dominions.” *τά μὲν*, “in part,” is an adverbial acc., and is responded to by *τὰ δ’* below. K. § 322, 5, (a). — *ὧν δ’ . . . προσθεῖναι*] “but of what things there was a lack to the city, to supply these?” The views here given are very statesmanlike and just.

303. *ἂ κοὶ . . . ἐμοῦ*] “which *measures*, O men of Athens, if any one will consider them without envy, he will find to have been wisely enacted, and executed with all integrity, and that the proper time of each was neither neglected nor unperceived, nor betrayed by me.” *παραθέντα* and *προσθέντα* are both first aorist passive participles from different compounds of the same verb, *ἔημι*.

305. *ᾗονον*] “would have inhabited.” The sense is affected by *ᾗν* in the preceding line.

306. *ὧν . . . περίεστι*] “which, if they had been successful, O earth and gods, it would undoubtedly have been our fortune to be at the height of greatness, and justly so, too; but as they have resulted very otherwise, it still remains to enjoy a good reputation.” *μεγίστοις* is put in the dative by attraction. See § 128.

307.] *οὐκ* Repeated for emphasis. — *ὑποστάντα*] “having undertaken.” The article *τὸν* in the preceding line belongs to this word, which is to be understood as referring to Demosthenes himself, as the other character described in the context is to be understood as meant for Æschines. — *λυπήσῃ*] “may have offended *him*.”

308. *ἡσυχίαν*] “quiet,” “withdrawal from public affairs.” — *φυλάττει . . . λέγοντος*] “watches when you are full of continuous speaking,” i. e. pressed with business. It was only at such times, when there appeared to be a chance for him to “make capital” out of the difficulties and troubles of others,

that he came forward. It is to be observed that *πρῖκα* is for *ὀπρῖκα*, — the direct for the indirect. K. § 344, R. 1. — *πολλὰ δὲ τὰνθρώπινα*] “and many human things are of this kind.” — *συνείρει . . . ἀπνευστί*] “pronounces these in a continuous flow, distinctly, and without catching his breath”; i. e. in a declamatory, periodic style. — *τῷ τυχόντι*] “any one,” “every one.” The literal meaning of this participle is “one who has happened,” and hence by an easy transition it comes to mean “any one,” or “every one.”

309. *ταύτης . . . ἐπιμελείας* “his oratorical skill and art,” i. e. such as is spoken of above.

310. *Τούτων . . . ἔξετασις*] “For there was a test of all these things in the above mentioned times,” i. e. the times called for such services, and hence they became the test of the ability and patriotism of public men. The following sentence expresses the same idea in a different manner, and hence *ἀποδείξεις* means “proofs,” “tests.” — *ἐν οἷς*] “among whom.” Referring for its antecedent to *ἀνδρὶ παλῷ τε πάγκαθῷ*. K. § 332, R. 1, (a). — *οὐκ οὐκ . . . ἠξιάστε*] “consequently, not among those at least by whom the country was strengthened.” For *οὐκ οὐκ*, see § 24, n.

311. *Τίς ἤ . . . σοῦ*] “What civil and public relief of means (has ever been effected) by you, either for the rich or poor?” such, for instance, as he himself had effected in his revision of the laws of the trierarchy, §§ 102—109.

312. *ὦ τᾶς*] “my good Sir.” This sentence is represented as being spoken by some one by way of obviating or palliating the charges just stated. — *εἰς σωτηρίαν . . . ἀργύριον*] “contributed of their means to the safety (of their country), and finally Aristonicus (gave to the city) the money which he had collected for regaining his civil rank.” This Aristonicus (perhaps the one mentioned § 84) had in some way, as it would seem, embezzled the public money, and consequently, according to the laws of Athens, was considered as politically disgraced until this was refunded. Having collected sufficient money to refund it, he presented it to the state. — *οὐδὲ τότε*

οὐτε] Observe the accumulation of ne also § 24. — οὐκ ἀπορῶν] “not being.” That he was not thus destitute is shown by the fact that he received a large amount by the will of a wealthy citizen, for attacking the trierarchy. Observe that the text takes two genitives instead of acc. and 3, (γ).

318. Ἄλλ' ἵνα . . . ἐκτρούσω] “word after another, I cheat myself out of my duty,” i. e. by not adhering strictly to duty.] An actor, or according to others, a man who made pathetic complaints against persons.

316. οὐ μὲν . . . ἄγειν] “nor, indeed, how great, to bring into discredit and to perform in the present age.”

317. βουλευμένη] “aiming at.” — ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς, i. e. their contemporaries, just a few lines below, means “his contemporaries.”

318. ἵνα . . . εἰπω] “that I may say nothing worse. Alluding to the epigram applied to Æschines.

320. ἐφαμάλλον . . . κειμένης] “perpetually lying open for rivalry to all in order to give an equal chance to show their zeal for their country.” The time here alluded to is opposed to the time below, when, after the ascendancy of the Persians, men were not judged of by their zeal for their country; in which case their zeal for their masters; in which case he acknowledges that he was eclipsed by Alcibiades — ἐν τάξει . . . ἱπποτρόφος] “(because he was) a famous keeper of race-horses.” in Greece.

321. μέτριον πολίτην] “a respectable citizen, as opposed to the traitors, who made such gains by their treachery.” Thus also De Cherville.

διαφυλάττειν] “in favorable opportunities to maintain for the city the pursuit of honor and supremacy.” — *τούτου . . . ἐνταυθα*] “for of this, or of thus much, nature has the control, but of the ability and power, other things.” That is to say, it was within the power of every one to have these feelings and designs towards his country, though the ability to carry them out depended upon various other things.

322. *Οὐκ ἐξαιτούμενος, κ. τ. λ.*] The orator here alludes to the various ways in which he had been persecuted by his enemies, most of which have been referred to in the previous part of the Oration.

323. *ἐτέρων*] “of others,” i. e. others besides his countrymen. — *τὴν δεξιὰν . . . οἶμαι*] “extending the hand (by way of salutation) and offering my congratulations to those whom I may expect to announce it there,” i. e. in Macedonia. The orator here refers to those at Athens who were desirous of being known to the enemy as zealous advocates of their cause, and hence, on occasion of any success of the Macedonian arms, were particular to offer their congratulations to such of the Macedonian party at Athens as would be likely to report their zeal at head quarters.

324. *Μὴ δῆτ', κ. τ. λ.*] This peroration is short, but exceedingly impressive. It forms a proper climax to the tone of patriotic fervor which pervades the whole Oration, and a fitting conclusion to the indignant strain of rebuke which the orator has uttered against the enemies of his country. — *ἑξώλεις καὶ προάλεις . . . ποιήσατε*] “wholly destroy, and that, too, speedily” (*lit.* before their time). See *Orat. F. L.*, p. 395, *init.*

3. No inconsiderable difficulty is found in the *language* of the documents ; such as inversions in the order of words in set phrases, unusual designations of office and duties, uncommon words and uncommon meanings.

4. Quite a number of the documents do not seem at all pertinent to the connection. The remarks of the orator by which they are introduced, or the comments which he makes upon them, seem to suppose, in several instances, something very different from what we find. This is especially true of the following documents : — 1. Philip's letter relative to his detention of the Athenian vessels (§ 77). It is introduced by the orator in order to show that Philip casts the blame of breaking the peace on others, while he exonerates him, and is commented upon as fully proving the point. But the letter found in the text does not sustain the assertion, without considerable violence in its interpretation. 2. The documents connected with his reform of the trierarchy (§§ 105, 106). They seem very deficient in fulness, and quite different from what we are led to expect from the connection and the titles by which they are designated, especially the *Katáloyoi*. 3. The documents concerning the relation between Athens and Thebes (§§ 164—167). These are introduced to show the unhappy state of feeling between the two cities, brought about by Æschines and his party. We are led to expect, therefore, decrees of mutual crimination. But the decrees found in the text both relate to Philip, and only one of them alludes to the Thebans at all. Besides, one of the letters of Philip is called a *reply to the Thebans*, while we have no decree at all from the Thebans to which he could reply.

5. Several of the decrees present very serious historical difficulties, especially the following : — 1. The decree of Demosthenes concerning the oaths (the first in the series, § 29). This decree, as found in the text, differs from the account given of it elsewhere, both by Æschines and Demosthenes, in several particulars. First, the date of it is more than a month after the *return* of the embassy which it was designed to despatch (see notes on § 30, and the Calendar). Second, it is clearly implied

APPENDIX.

in the oration of Demosthenes, *De F. L.*, (p. 376), that there were ten ambassadors on this embassy, while only five are mentioned, and of these the name of only one (that of Demosthenes) agrees with the list of those known to have been upon the embassy. Third, an important particular is omitted in the decree, which is described by Demosthenes (*F. L.*, p. 389) as having been introduced into it, — the provision that the ambassador (Proxenus) should conduct the ambassadors directly to Philip. Fourth, it speaks of the peace as having been voted at the first assembly, whereas it was voted at the second, on the 15th of Elaphebolion (*Dem. F. L.*, p. 359); and, besides, makes an allusion to the *alliance* which was coupled with the peace decree referred to, as is evident even from Demosthenes (*pp.* 353, 354). 2. The decree of Callisthenes immediately following the submission of the Phocians to Philip (§§ 37, 38). In the first place, the date is nearly five months after the surrender of the Phocians to Philip, while Demosthenes, both in this oration (§ 36), and in the *Orat. de F. L.* (p. 379), states that the decree was passed *immediately* after that event. In the second place, several things are omitted here, which are described by Demosthenes (*F. L.*, p. 379) as having been contained in the decree. 3. The second Amphictyonic decree (§ 155) purports to have been passed at the spring session, whereas it is stated by Demosthenes, in the remarks by which he introduces the decree, that it was passed at the session following that at which the ceding decree was passed, i. e. the following autumn. The designation *Arcadian*, given to Cottyphus, may have arisen from confounding *Parrhasian* (an Arcadian name) with *salian*, which was his proper designation. 4. The decree of Heropythes concerning the relation between Athens and Philip seem to contain an obscure allusion to a second peace with Philip, after the war of Byzantium, which is highly improbable though attested by Diodorus. There are no important discrepancies in the other documents.

The counter arguments in favor of the genuineness of the documents are, briefly, as follows : —

1. It is not necessary, in order to make out their genuineness, to suppose that the orator himself incorporated them into his speech, but only *that they were actually taken from the public archives, on the supposition that they were the identical records referred to in the text, and not fabricated.* This may have been done some time after the publication of the speech; which, indeed, is the commonly received view.

2. Hence it is very easy to imagine how they came to be incomplete, since it is very conceivable that the records themselves, from a certain point, may have been lost or mislaid, or from some other cause rendered defective.

3. Hence, also, the almost uniformly wrong archons. The documents for a year were probably enclosed in a single envelope, or deposited in a single compartment, containing the name of the chief archon for the year, while those acted upon during each Prytany bore the name of the clerk for the Prytany. When, now, these documents were taken from the archives for publication, the name of the archon may have been lost or overlooked, and the name of the clerk for the Prytany mistaken for it.

4. Hence, too, the wrong document would often be introduced instead of the right one, which accounts for their want of pertinence in many cases, and the historical difficulties in others.

5. Most of the remaining difficulties may be accounted for, either by supposing corruptions in the decrees, to which they would be very liable under the circumstances supposed, or inaccuracies in the original drafts, on account of their referring to matters which their authors did not understand.

The judgment of Vömel (as given in the *Class. Mus.*, No. VIII.), after surveying the whole question, is, that "five documents are attached to a wrong place, four are full of gaps, one perhaps imperfect, and one forged."

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